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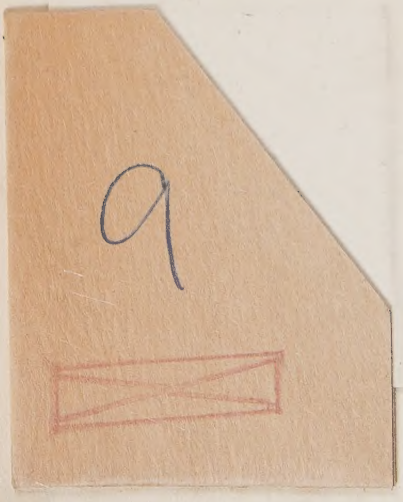

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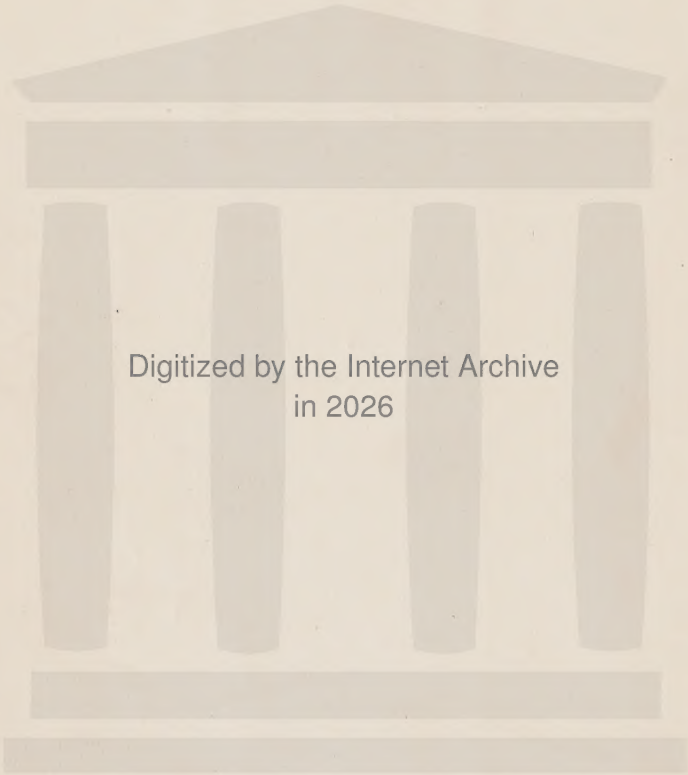

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READINGS

IN

ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY

FROM PRE-ROMAN DAYS TO A.D. 1837

EDITED BY

R. B. MORGAN, M.A., M.LITT.

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PREFACE

THE present edition contains the whole series of extracts—chiefly from contemporary writers—which were included in the five volumes published in the course of 1921 and 1922. In these extracts the editor's aim has been to give a true picture of Britain and its inhabitants throughout the centuries: their mode of life; their food and clothing; their games and recreations; their feastings and their burials; their methods of fighting on land and sea; their laws and customs; their education; their instinct for trade; their pageants and their music; their joys and their sorrows; in fact, all that goes to make what we call "life."

In order to tempt his readers to explore for themselves the sources from which the extracts are taken, the editor has, where possible, chosen his selections from such editions of authorities as can be found in any modern reference library, and to that end, the source of each extract is defined in detail. In this connection the editor is under a debt of gratitude to Mr G. Berwick Sayers, the chief librarian of Croydon's splendidly equipped public library, for his expert advice and assistance; and to him and his staff sincere thanks are due.

To Mr Walter Blackie, at whose suggestion the work was, in the first place, undertaken, the editor offers his thanks; he also makes sincere acknowledgment to Mr S. C. Roberts, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, who, in addition to being

responsible for the selection of the illustrations, has placed at the editor's disposal his sound scholarship and wide experience, which have been most gratefully accepted.

In the present edition the opportunity has been taken of making some substitutions and corrections.

R. B. M.

10 Wellesley Grove, Croydon
July 1923

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Messrs J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. (Bk. II. Nos. 17, 30, 32, 34).
H.M. Stationery Office (Bk. II. Nos. 19, 26, 44).
Messrs Constable & Co., Ltd. (Bk. II. Nos. 45, 51, 53).
The Early English Text Society (Bk. III. No. 4).
Mr G. G. Coulton (Bk. III. No. 9*c*).
The Navy Records Society (Bk. III. No. 12 ; Bk. V. No. 3).
The Ballad Society (Bk. III. Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 ; Bk. IV. No. 28).
Messrs George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. (Bk. III. No. 31).
Messrs Sherratt & Hughes (Bk. IV. Nos. 12, 17, 18, 19, 20).
Messrs Duckworth & Co. (Bk. IV. No. 49).
The Epworth Press (Bk. V. No. 14).

ILLUSTRATIONS

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THE FORUM, CILURNUM 12

ROMAN STREET, CILURNUM

Cilurnum (The Chesters), in the county of Northumberland, was one of the principal camps on the line of the great Roman wall from the Tyne to the Solway begun by the emperor Hadrian about A.D. 120. Enough of the Roman work remains at Cilurnum to show the grouping of the main buildings. Down the middle of the street may be noted the gutter for carrying away the rain.

Photographs by J. P. Gibson, Hexham.

ERMINE STREET 13

This was the great Roman road running north from London. The photograph is of a portion of what is now known as the Great North Road and is taken just north of Lincoln.

Photograph by S. Smith, Lincoln.

ORNAMENTS OF THE VIKING PERIOD . . . 30

This plate shows examples of the brooch—the most characteristic ornament of the Viking period—and the neck-ring.

The brooches were generally bronze, with silver knobs, and are found in various shapes—oval, round, and tri-lobed; pendants were commonly attached to the neck-rings as charms against evil fortune.

From S. Müller, *Nordische Altertümskunde*, reproduced in A. Mawer, *The Vikings*.

PART OF THE *ORKNEYINGA SAGA* 31

This saga recounts the history of the Orkneys from the first coming of the Norsemen down to the middle of the 12th century. It was probably written in Iceland about 1200 and the portion shown is from the copy in the Flatey-book in the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

From W. A. Craigie, *Icelandic Sagas*.

FACING PAGE

MONKWEARMOUTH CHURCH TOWER . . . 34

This is the oldest part of the church built by Benedict Biscop, the lower portion of the tower being his original work, while the upper part belongs to the 11th century. The whole tower shows the characteristic belfry-openings and "long and short" work of the Saxon period of architecture.

At the time of its first building (A.D. 674) it was, no doubt, as Sir Thomas Jackson says, "the wonder of the age in England."

Photograph by Valentine & Sons.

OLD ENGLISH PLOUGHMEN 35

This shows a portion of a calendar prefixed to an 11th century hymn-book. An illustration is given for each month, showing the various occupations of the people throughout the year.

British Museum, MS. Cott. Jul. A. vi.

PORTION OF DOMESDAY BOOK 60

This page of the great survey deals with Oxfordshire. The following is a translation of the first six lines :—

"In the time of King Edward Oxford paid to the king for toll and rent and all other customs 20 pounds and 6 pints of honey per annum ; and to Count Algar 10 pounds, there being added a mill which he held below the city. When the king went to war, 20 citizens went with him on behalf of all the rest or gave 20 pounds to the king, so that all might be free."

THE WHITE TOWER 61

ST JOHN'S CHAPEL IN THE TOWER OF LONDON

The White Tower, the oldest part of the fortress of the Tower of London, was planned by William I. and built by Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester in 1078. It is one of the best preserved Norman keeps. The Chapel in the Tower, with its plain, massive pillars and semi-circular arches, is similarly one of the best examples of early Norman church architecture.

Photographs by Valentine & Sons and Frith & Co.

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"ELY'S HIGH TOWERS THE WIDE CHAMPAIGN COMMAND" 72

The nave and the lower part of the towers of Ely Cathedral are among the finest examples of early Norman work. From early days Ely was "isolated and inaccessible" and "afforded quiet for study and contemplation, and a sanctuary where the hunted could easily elude their pursuers."

Photograph by Frith & Co.

A MEDIEVAL SIEGE 73

This illustration, which is taken from Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire de l'architecture*, shows the devices employed in besieging a fortified garrison. The castle is surrounded by a moat, from the other side of which the attack is being made by means of penthouses, catapults, and the "lofty towers" mentioned in the text.

SPORTS IN THE MIDDLE AGES 86

The three illustrations shown occur in a 14th century MS. The first shows a medieval form of the Greek pastime Hippas, a kind of amusement not unknown to-day. One man sat upon the shoulders of another, as upon a horse, and the prize went to the competitor who first pulled his opponent to the ground.

The second is of a wrestling-match for which the prize is a cock. The wrestling is with the open hand which grasps either the body of the opponent or a loose scarf worn for the purpose.

The third is of a tilting-match on the water.

British Museum MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.

THE CELLARIUM, FOUNTAINS ABBEY 87

The Cellarium at Fountains is exceptionally well preserved. It forms part of the buildings on the west side of the cloister and is divided by columns into two alleys.

From A. Hamilton Thompson, *English Monasteries*.

KING AND JESTER 106

This shows a portion of a 15th century MS. of the 14th psalm (The fool hath said in his heart . . .). The artist has taken the opportunity to insert in the initial D a picture of a king with his jester.

British Museum MS. Harl. 1892.

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THE MARRIAGE OF HENRY III. 107

This is from the MS. of the *History* of Matthew Paris. At the foot of the page the author has added a picture of the marriage ceremony between Henry III. and Isabella.

British Museum MS. Roy. 14 c. 7.

COURT HOUSE, LONG CRENDON 124

The old Court House or Staple Hall at Long Crendon, in Buckinghamshire, probably belongs to the fourteenth century. It was possibly built as a wool-store, and in the fifteenth century was used for the holding of manorial courts.

Photograph by W. H. Marsh.

SEAL OF THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON . . 125

This elaborate seal, displaying the images of St Peter and St Paul, with the city arms at the foot, was made in the fourteenth century to replace the old one, which was held to be "uncomely for the honour of the city."

British Museum.

MEDIEVAL DOMESTIC LIFE 136

These two illustrations are from a French *Book of Hours*, of the fifteenth century, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

MS. Canon. Lit. 99.

A MEDIEVAL KNIGHT 137

This illustration is from John of Bedford's *Book of Hours*, a fifteenth century MS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and shows the knight being equipped with plate armour, spurs, and shield.

From F. L. Bowman, *Britain in the Middle Ages.*

FOUR GATES OF OLD LONDON 152

This reproduction of an old print shows four of the gates which originally stood at intervals on the line of the wall round old London, "the great and high wall of the city having seven double gates," as Fitzstephen says. They were finally removed in the middle of the eighteenth century.

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GEOFFREY CHAUCER 153

This portrait is reproduced from a copy of *The Canterbury Tales*, known as the Ellesmere MS., which contains portraits also of the characters who figure in the *Tales*. Most of these portraits are reproduced in the *Stories from Chaucer*, from which extracts are given in the text.

JOHN BALL PREACHING 172

INTERVIEW ON THE THAMES BETWEEN RICHARD II. AND THE INSURGENTS 173

A TOURNAMENT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY . 184

CORONATION OF HENRY IV. 185

These four illustrations have a special interest in that they are copied from contemporary pictures included in MSS. of Froissart's *Chronicles*. The first pair are from a MS. in Paris, and the second from one in the British Museum. The tournament depicted is one held at St Inglevere, near Calais, where three French knights defended the lists for thirty days against all comers. The other three illustrations are sufficiently explained by the text.

From H. N. Humphreys, *Illustrations of Froissart.*

THE OLD LIBRARY, LINCOLN CATHEDRAL . . 210

The library of Lincoln Cathedral was built about 1420, and a good part of the original structure remains. The roof is an especially fine example of fifteenth century timber-work.

A catalogue of about 1450 refers to several books "lately secured with locks and chains."

From J. W. Clark, *Care of Books.*

THE SANCTUARY KNOCKER, DURHAM CATHEDRAL . 211

To gain sanctuary at Durham Cathedral, the fugitive had first to knock upon the north door. On this door the knocker (made of bronze, and dating from about 1125), still remains.

THE GUILDHALL, EXETER 232

Built in 1464 on the site of a much older building. The pillared façade, in the Renaissance style, was added in 1593.

Photograph by Frith & Co.

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CARDINAL WOLSEY AND HIS SUITE IN PROGRESS . 233

This drawing, the original of which illustrates a manuscript copy of Cavendish's *Life* made in 1578, is reproduced from Singer's edition (1825). Cavendish describes how Wolsey "rode very sumptuously, on a mule trapped with crimson velvet upon velvet, and his stirrups of copper and gilt. . . . Before him he had his great crosses of silver, two great pillars of silver, the great seal of England, his cardinal's hat, and a gentleman that carried his valaunce, otherwise called a cloak bag. . . . Thus passed he through London and all the way of his journey."

TITLE-PAGE OF THE GREAT BIBLE, 1539 . . 248

This is the bible referred to in Cromwell's injunctions and was the first to be placed openly in an English church for any man to read who could. On the title-page the King is seen handing the Word of God to the bishops and clergy on the one hand, and to Cromwell and the people on the other.

John Brown, *The History of the English Bible.*

DIVERSITIES OF EXERCISE 249

These pictures are from the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (a "nomenclature and pictures of all the chief things that are in the world and of men's employments therein") of John Amos Comenius, a famous educational reformer of the seventeenth century. The book was first published in 1657 and was translated into English "for the use of young Latin Scholars" by Charles Hoole.

The first picture is of a tennis-court, in which "they play with a Ball, which one throweth and another taketh, and sendeth it back with a Racket, and that is the sport of Noblemen to stir their Body." The second shows various races: "Boys exercise themselves," says the text, "in running either upon the ice . . . where they are carried also upon sleds, or in the open Field. . . . Heretofore Runners ran betwixt Rails to the Goal. . . . At this day Tilting (or the Quintain) is used . . ., instead of Horse-races which are grown out of use."

QUEEN ELIZABETH DANCING WITH THE EARL OF LEICESTER 260

A portion of the famous picture at Penshurst Place, illustrating the queen's delight in dancing.

Photograph by Eagleton & Son, Penshurst.

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A Group of Smokers 261

The upper portion of this picture, which is taken from the frontispiece to Brathwayt's *The Smoaking Age* (1617), shows a convivial party engaged in the enjoyment of tobacco, the introduction of which is referred to on page 266.

In the lower portion one of the party appears to be dancing to the tune of the bagpipe.

Brass of Alice Wade, 1599 278

This brass, in Bidleston Church, Suffolk, shows the slashed sleeves, the large ruff round the neck, the farthingale and the embroidered petticoat characteristic of the period.

From J. S. M. Ward, *Brasses*.

Leicester Hospital, Warwick 279

Hatfield House 279

The first picture shows a typical half-timbered house, originally the hall of a guild and converted by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, into a hospital for twelve poor men and a master. The date of Leicester's foundation (1571) is seen over the gateway.

Hatfield House does not strictly belong to the reign of Elizabeth, having been built between 1605 and 1611 by the first Earl of Salisbury. It may, however, be regarded as characteristic of the many great mansions founded by Tudor families.

Elizabeth was living in confinement at the old Hatfield Palace, of which some part still remains, when the news of her accession was brought to her.

Photographs by Frith & Co. and the Homeland Association, Ltd.

Brass of John Wingfield, 1584 296

In spite of the use of gunpowder, the use of armour continued throughout the reign of Elizabeth (see page 291). The illustration, which is from a brass in Easton Church, Suffolk, shows the full suit of plate-armour, with cuirass for the body, greaves and knee-caps for the legs, and sollerets for the feet.

From J. S. M. Ward, *Brasses*.

FACING PAGE

CAMBRIDGE IN 1592 297

The illustration shows a portion of Hamond's Map of 1592. The chapel of King's College, of which the fabric was finished in 1515, stands out prominently and several colleges are clearly shown. The market cross was destroyed in 1786.

From Atkinson & Clark, *Cambridge* (by permission of Messrs Macmillan & Co. and Messrs Bowes & Bowes).

HUNTING IN ELIZABETH'S TIME 306

These pictures illustrate the deer-hunting described on page 304. They are taken from Turbervile's *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (1567), a book which deals with the "Vertues, Nature, and Properties of fivetene sundrie chaces, together with the order and maner how to Hunte and Kill every one of them."

A PAGE FROM *THE FRIAR AND THE BOY* 307

This shows the first page of a ballad the popularity of which lasted till the nineteenth century. It is taken from a facsimile of the edition printed by Wynkyn de Worde about 1510.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE 332

The illustration is of the title-page of the first folio edition of the *Plays* (1623), the portrait being engraved by Martin Droeshout. Ben Jonson's description of it, quoted on page 331, was printed opposite the title-page.

THE GLOBE THEATRE 333

This is a portion of Hollar's *View of London* (1647), showing the Bear-baiting house (see page 305) and the Globe Theatre on the south bank of the Thames. The latter building (so-called from its sign of Atlas supporting the Globe) was erected in 1599.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION, 1611 . 350

One good result of the Hampton Court Conference (1604) was a new translation of the Bible. The best scholars from the universities were chosen for the work and the King showed a keen interest in the project.

On either side of the title-page are the figures of Moses and Aaron, with the evangelists at the corners.

FACING PAGE

THE REINDEER INN, BANBURY 351

This inn belongs to the early part of the seventeenth century. One of the gables bears the date 1637, and the room here shown has fine panelling and a plaster ceiling in the Italian style.

Photograph by W. R. Sansbury, Banbury.

MORRIS DANCERS IN THE TIME OF JAMES I. . . 360

This illustration is a reproduction of part of a picture at Lord Fitzwilliam's house on Richmond Green painted about the end of James I.'s reign. It is described by Horace Walpole (*Works*, iv. 30), and shows the piper, the hobby-horse, Maid Marian, a male dancer, and the fool collecting money from the spectators.

From Kidson & Neal, *English Folk-Song and Dance.*

THE NAVE OF OLD ST PAUL'S 361

The old cathedral of St Paul's was the longest in the country; it was burnt with the rest of the city in the Great Fire of 1666.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SCHOOLROOM . . 384

This is from the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (a "nomenclature and pictures of all the chief things that are in the world and of men's employments therein") of John Amos Comenius, the educational reformer. The book was first published in 1657, and the school here shown is described as a place where "young minds are trained to virtue."

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 385

Viols and lutes were the stringed instruments principally in use at this period. Descriptions of them are given in the text.

From Cowling, *Music on the Shakespearian Stage.*

THE RESTORATION PARLIAMENT 392

This picture, which gives a somewhat crude representation of the Privy Council, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Bishops and Convocation, is the frontispiece to *England's Glory, Or, an Exact Catalogue of the Lords of His Majesties' Most Honourable Privy Councel* . . . 1660.

FACING PAGE

EVELYN'S DESIGNS FOR THE ARMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY 393

Evelyn was one of the earliest members of the Royal Society and set himself to make sketches for its coat of arms. The first shows a ship with the motto *Et Augebitur Scientia*; the second, a hand holding a plumb-line with *Omnia probate*; the third, two telescopes with *Quantum nescimus*; the fourth, the sun with *Ad Majorem Lumen*; the last, the earth with an eye above it and the words *Rerum cognoscere causas*.

The King, however, honoured the Society by giving it the right to include the Arms of England, and the design finally adopted is seen at the foot of the picture.

From C. J. Smith, *Historical and Literary Antiquities*.
(By permission of Messrs Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.)

A SCENE FROM *THE HUMOROUS LIEUTENANT* . . . 416

From the edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Works* published by Tonson in 1711.

THE GREAT PLAGUE 417

This contemporary print shows the flight from the city by river and land, old St Paul's standing out prominently in the background; also the improvised burials made necessary by the ravages of the plague.

From a print in the Pepysian Collection.
(By permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.)

GRENADIER GUARDS, 1660 432

The Grenadiers were originally the King's Own Regiment of Foot Guards, formed out of the English royalists who had followed the fortunes of Charles II.

The illustration shows the dress and equipment of officer, pikeman, and musketeer at the time of the regiment's formation under the command of Colonel John Russell.

From Hamilton's *History of the Grenadier Guards*.
(By permission of Mr John Murray.)

FACING PAGE

FROST FAIR ON THE THAMES, 1684 . . . 433

This contemporary sketch shows the tents, taverns, side-shows, ice-boats, and other amusements on the frozen Thames. In the left background the Monument may just be seen.

Below are two facsimiles of keepsakes printed for the King and others when they visited the Fair.

From C. J. Smith, *Historical and Literary Antiquities.* (By permission of Messrs Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.)

LONDON STREET CRIES 456

From Tempest's *Cries of London.* These are illustrations of four of the cries contained in the list on page 457.

THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE 457

From a satirical print in the British Museum.

THE PUMP ROOM AT BATH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 466

On the left of the picture may be seen an invalid chair; in the middle a lady riding on a pillion; on the right a coach and sedan-chairs.

Warner, *History of Bath*, 1801.

NEWINGTON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY . . 467

At this time Newington was a small parish with a church and about 195 houses.

Bibliotheca Britannica, 1790.

JOHN WESLEY 488

From the portrait by Nathaniel Hone in the National Portrait Gallery.

RANELAGH GARDENS 489

This picture shows a masquerade held at Ranelagh Gardens on 24 May 1759, the birthday of the Prince of Wales.

FACING PAGE

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GOLFER . . . 494

This is from an etching by John Kay, the Scottish caricaturist, and represents a famous golfer of the period (Alex. McKellar) as the "Cock of the Green."

From Paston's *Social Caricature in the XVIII. Century*, by permission of Messrs Methuen & Co., Ltd.

THE MANCHESTER CANAL AT BARTON BRIDGE . 495

At this point the canal passed over the River Irwell and "the spectator was gratified with the extraordinary sight never before beheld in this country, of one vessel sailing over the top of another."

THE POLLING 514

This is the third of a series of caricatures by Hogarth depicting an eighteenth-century election. A one-legged and one-armed old soldier has just recorded his vote amidst the protests of the bewigged advocate; the next voter is apparently a deaf imbecile; behind him is an invalid wrapped in a blanket and carried to the poll by two supporters.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1793 . . . 515

William Pitt is seen delivering a speech. On the left, in front of the second pillar, is Charles James Fox.

From the painting by Hinckel in the National Portrait Gallery.

A UNIVERSITY VOLUNTEER OF 1804 . . . 534

The illustration is from Harraden's *Costume of the University of Cambridge*, 1803-5.

"In September [1803], the lay members of the University formed a volunteer corps, who were drilled by Captain S. Bircham of the 30th Foot. The Heads and Tutors allowed one hour each day for this purpose and permitted a suitable dress to be worn when on duty."—Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*.

FACING PAGE

ENGLISH RURAL LIFE 535

These are from an edition of Thomson's *Seasons* published in 1802. The upper picture is from an engraving by W. Cooke, the lower from one by W. Woolnoth.

THE BELL INN, KILBURN 544

From a print in the Crace Collection, British Museum.

THE TRIUMPH OF *THE ROCKET* 545

The upper picture shows *The Rocket* in working; the lower the contest at Liverpool described on pp. 550 *ff.*

From Smiles, *Life of George Stephenson.*

BOOK ONE

FROM PRE-ROMAN DAYS TO A.D. 1272

READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

BRITAIN BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

1. THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS IN PRE-ROMAN DAYS

(*a*) SOURCE: Strabo, *Geography*, III, II (quoted in Sharpe's *Britain B.C.*)

THE greatest part of the island is level and woody, although many tracts are hilly. It produces corn, cattle, and gold and silver, and iron, which things are brought thence, and also skins and slaves, and dogs sagacious in hunting; and the Celti use these for the purposes of war also, as well as their native dogs. The men are taller than the Celti, with hair less yellow; and slighter in their persons. As an instance of their height, we ourselves saw at Rome some youths who were taller by so much as half a foot than the tallest there; but they were distorted in their lower limbs, and in other respects not symmetrical in their confirmation. Their manners are in part like those of the Celti, though in part more simple and barbarous; insomuch that some of them, though possessing plenty of milk, have not skill enough to make cheese, and are totally unacquainted with horticulture and other matters of husbandry. There are several states amongst them. In their wars they make use of chariots for the most part, as do some of the Celti. Forests are their cities; for having enclosed an ample space with felled trees, here they make themselves huts, and lodge their

cattle, though not for any long continuance. Their atmosphere is more subject to rain than to snow; even in their clear days the mist continues a considerable time, insomuch that throughout the whole day the sun is only visible for three or four hours about noon time. . . . Tin is not found upon the surface as authors commonly relate, but [they say] that it is dug up, and that it is produced both in places among the barbarians who dwell beyond the Lusitanians and in the islands Cassiterides, and that from the Britannic Islands it is carried to Marseilles. Amongst the Artabri, who are the last of the Lusitanians towards the north and west, [they say] that the earth is powdered with silver tin and white gold, that is, mixed with silver, the earth having been brought down by the rivers; this the women scrape up with spades, and wash in sieves, woven after the fashion of baskets. . . .

The Cassiterides [1] are ten in number, and lie near each other in the ocean, towards the north from the haven of the Artabri. One of them is desert, but the others are inhabited by men in black cloaks, clad in tunics reaching to the feet, girt about the breast and walking with staves, thus resembling the Furies we see in tragic representations. They subsist by their cattle, leading for the most part a wandering life. Of the metals they have tin and lead, which with skins they barter with the merchants for earthenware, salt, and brazen vessels. Formerly the Phœnicians alone carried on this traffic from Gades, concealing the passage from every one, and when the Romans followed a certain shipmaster, that they also might find the market, the shipmaster of jealousy purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, leading on these to follow him into the same destructive disaster. He himself escaped by means of a fragment of the ship, and received

[1] The Cassiterides, or "Tin Islands," are mentioned by Herodotus. It was there that the Carthaginian merchants bartered their wares for tin. The islands have been identified with the Scilly Isles and with Cornwall, though other authorities regard them as the little islands about Vigo Bay off the Spanish coast.

from the state the value of the cargo he had lost. The Romans, nevertheless, by frequent efforts discovered the passage, and as soon as Publius Crassus, passing over to them, perceived that the metals were dug out at a little depth, and that the men were peaceably disposed, he declared it to those who already wished to traffic in this sea for profit, although the passage was longer than to Britain.

(*b*) SOURCE: *Diodorus Siculus,* V, III (Sharpe).

The inhabitants are the original people thereof, and live to this time after their own ancient manner and custom, for in fights they use chariots, as it is said the old Grecian heroes did in the Trojan war. They dwell in mean cottages, covered for the most part with reeds or sticks. In reaping of their corn, they cut off the ears from the stalk, and so house them up in repositories underground, thence they take and pluck out the grains of as many of the oldest of them as may serve them for a day, and, after they have bruised the corn, make it into bread. They are of much sincerity and integrity, far from the craft and knavery of men amongst us, contented with plain and homely fare, strangers to the excess and luxury of rich men. The island is very populous, but of a cold climate, subject to frosts, being under the arctic pole. They are governed by several kings and princes, who, for the most part, are at peace and amity one with another. . . .

Now we shall speak something of the tin that is dug and gotten there. They that inhabit the British promontory Balerium, by reason of their converse with merchants, are more civilised and courteous to strangers than the rest are. These are the people that make the tin, which with a great deal of care and labour they dig out of the ground, and that being rocky, the metal is mixed with some veins of earth, out of which they melt the metal, and then refine it, then they beat it into four-square pieces, like a die, and carry it

to a British isle near at hand called Ictis. For at low tide, all being dry between them and the island, they convey over in carts abundance of tin in the meantime. But there is one thing peculiar to these islands which lie between Britain and Europe, for at full sea they appear to be islands, but at low water for a long way they look like so many peninsulas. Hence the merchants transport the tin they buy of the inhabitants to France, and for thirty days' journey they carry it in packs upon horses' backs through France to the mouth of the river Rhone. . . . In their journeys and fights they use chariots drawn by two horses, which carry a charioteer and a soldier, and when they meet horsemen in the battle, they fall upon their enemies with their saurians,[1] then quitting their chariots, they to it with their swords. There are some of them so despise death, that they will fight naked, with something only about their loins.

BRITAIN UNDER ROMAN RULE

2. CÆSAR'S DESIRE TO LEARN ABOUT BRITAIN
[55 B.C.]

SOURCE: Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, IV, 20, from the translation by Dr. T. Rice Holmes.

Cæsar made active preparations for an expedition to Britain; for he knew that in almost all the operations in Gaul our enemies had been reinforced from that country. Besides, if there were not time for a campaign, he thought that it would be well worth his while merely to visit the island, see what the people were like, and make himself acquainted with the features of the country, the harbours, and the landing-places; for of all this the Gauls knew practically nothing. No one, indeed, readily undertakes the voyage to Britain except traders; and even they know

[1] A kind of dart

nothing of it except the coast and the parts opposite the different regions of Gaul. Accordingly, though Cæsar summoned traders from all parts to meet him, he could not ascertain the extent of the island, what tribes dwelt therein, their strength, their method of fighting, their manners and customs, or what harbours were capable of accommodating a large flotilla.

3. CÆSAR'S DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN AND ITS INHABITANTS [58 B.C.]

SOURCE: Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, V, 12 (Rice Holmes).

The island is triangular in shape, one side being opposite Gaul. One corner of this side, by Kent—the landing-place for almost all ships from Gaul—has an easterly, and the lower one a southerly aspect. The extent of this side is about five hundred miles. The second trends westward towards Spain; off the coast here is Ireland, which is considered only half as large as Britain, though the passage is equal in length to that between Britain and Gaul. Halfway across is an island called Man; and several smaller islands also are believed to be situated opposite this coast, in which, according to some writers, there is continuous night, about the winter solstice, for thirty days. Our inquiries could elicit no information on the subject, but by accurate measurements with a water-clock we could see that the nights were shorter than on the continent. The length of the side, according to the estimate of the natives, is seven hundred miles. The third side has a northerly aspect, and no land lies opposite it; its corner however, looks, if anything, in the direction of Germany. The length of this side is estimated at eight hundred miles. Thus the whole island is two thousand miles in circumference.

The interior of Britain is inhabited by a people who, according to oral tradition—so the Britains themselves say

—are aboriginal; the maritime districts by immigrants who crossed over from Belgium to plunder and attack the aborigines, almost all of them being called after the tribes from whom the first-comers were an offshoot. When the war was over they remained in the country and settled down as tillers of the soil. The population is immense; homesteads, closely resembling those of the Gaul, are met with at every turn; and cattle are very numerous. Gold coins are in use or, instead of coins, iron bars of fixed weight. Tin is found in the country in the island, and iron in the maritime districts, but the latter only in small quantities; bronze is imported. Trees exist of all the varieties which occur in Gaul, except the beech and the fir. Hares, fowls, and geese they think it impious to taste; but they keep them for pastime or amusement. The climate is more equable than in Gaul, the cold being less severe.

By far the most civilised of all the natives are the inhabitants of Kent—a purely maritime district—whose culture does not differ much from that of the Gauls. The people of the interior do not, for the most part, cultivate grain, but live on milk and flesh-meat, and clothe themselves with skins. All the Britains, without exception, stain themselves with woad, which produces a bluish tint; and this gives them a wild look in battle. They wear their hair long, and shave the whole of their body except the head and the upper lip.

4. HOW THE EARLY BRITONS FOUGHT [55 B.C.]

SOURCE: Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, IV, 32 (Rice Holmes).

Chariots are used in action in the following way. First of all, the charioteers drive all over the field, the warriors hurling missiles; and generally they throw the enemy's ranks into confusion by the mere terror inspired by their

horses and the clatter of the wheels. As soon as they have penetrated between the troops of cavalry, the warriors jump off the chariots and fight on foot. The drivers meanwhile gradually withdraw from the action, and range the cars in such a position that, if the warriors are hard pressed by the enemy's numbers, they may easily get back to them. Thus they exhibit in action the mobility of cavalry combined with the steadiness of infantry ; and they become so efficient from constant practice and training that they will drive their horses at full gallop, keeping them well in hand, down a steep incline, check and turn them in an instant, run along the pole, stand on the yoke, and step backwards again to the cars with the greatest nimbleness.

5. THE PEOPLES OF BRITAIN AND GAUL COMPARED
[*circa* A.D. 78]

SOURCE: Tacitus, *Agricola*, II, from the translation by Prof. Maurice Hutton (Loeb Classical Library).

. . . What race of mortal birth inhabited Britain originally whether native to the soil or later comers, is a question which, as one would expect among barbarous people, has never received attention. The physique of the people presents many varieties, whence inferences are drawn : the red hair and the large limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia proclaim their German origin ; the swarthy faces of the Silures, the curly quality, in general, of their hair, and the position of Spain opposite these shores, attest the passage of Iberians in old days, and the occupation by them of these districts ; these people again, who adjoin Gaul are also like Gauls, whether because the influence of heredity persists, or because where two lands converge till they face each other the climatic conditions stamp a certain physique on the human body ; but, taking a broad view of the case, we can readily believe that the Gauls took possession of the adjacent island. You

will surprise these celebrations of Gallic ceremonies, and faith in Gallic superstitions; the language is not very different; but the Britons display a higher spirit, not having been emasculated by long years of peace. The Gauls also, according to history, once shone in war; afterwards indolence made its appearance, hand in hand with peace, and courage and liberty have been lost together. This has happened to such of the Britons as were conquered long ago: the rest remain what the Gauls once were.

Their strength lies in their infantry; but certain tribes also fight from chariots: the driver has the place of honour, the combatants are mere retainers. Originally the people were subject to kings: now they are distracted with parties and party spirit through the influence of chieftains; nor indeed have we any weapon against the stronger races more effective than this, that they have no common purpose: rarely will two or three states confer to repulse a common danger; accordingly they fight individually and are collectively conquered. The sky is overcast with continual rain and cloud, but the cold is not severe. The duration of daylight is beyond the measure of our zone: the nights are clear and, in the distant parts of Britain, short, so that there is but a brief space separating the evening and the morning twilight. If there be no clouds to hinder, the sun's brilliance —they maintain—is visible throughout the night: it neither sets nor rises, but simply passes over. . . .

The soil, except for the olive and the vine, and the other fruits usual in warmer lands, permits, and is even prolific of crops: they ripen slowly, but are quick to sprout—in each case for the same reason, the abundant moisture of the soil and sky. Britain produces gold and silver and other metals: conquest is worth while. The sea also produces pearls, but somewhat clouded and leaden-hued. Some people suppose that their pearl-fishers lack skill; in the Red Sea we are to imagine them torn alive and still breathing from the shell,

while in Britain they are gathered only when thrown up on shore. . . .

As for the people themselves, they discharge energetically the levies and tribute and imperial obligations imposed upon them, provided always there be no wrong-doing. They are restive under wrong; for their subjection, while complete enough to involve obedience, does not involve slavery.

6. THE DRUIDS [*circa* 53 B.C.]

(*a*) SOURCE: Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, VI, 13 (Rice Holmes).

The former, [*i.e.* the Druids], officiate at the worship of the gods, regulate sacrifices, private as well as public, and expound questions of religion. Young men resort to them in large numbers for study, and the people hold them in great respect. They are judges in nearly all disputes, whether between tribes or individuals; and when a crime is committed, when a murder takes place, when a dispute arises about inherited property or boundaries, they settle the matter and fix the awards and fines. If any litigant, whether an individual or a tribe, does not abide by their decision, they excommunicate the offender—the heaviest punishment which they can inflict. Persons who are under such a sentence are looked upon as impious monsters: everybody avoids them, everybody shuns their approach and conversation for fear of incurring pollution; if they appear as plaintiffs, they are denied justice; nor have they any share in the offices of the state. The Druids are all under one head, who commands the highest respect among the order. On his death, if any of the rest is of higher standing than his fellows, he takes the vacant place; if there are several on an equality, the question of supremacy is decided by the votes of the Druids, and sometimes actually by force of arms. The Druids hold an annual session on a settled date at a hallowed spot. . . . All litigants assemble here from all parts and

abide by their decisions and awards. Their doctrine is believed to have been found existing in Britain, and thence to have been imported into Gaul; and nowadays most people who wish to acquire a thorough knowledge of it go there to study.

The Druids, as a rule, take no part in war, and do not pay taxes conjointly with other people: they enjoy exemption from military service, and immunity from all burdens. Attracted by these great privileges, many persons voluntarily come to learn from them, while many are sent by their parents and relatives. During their novitiate, it is said that they learn by heart a great number of verses; and accordingly some remain twenty years in a state of pupilage. It is against the principles of the Druids to commit their doctrines to writing, though, for most other purposes, such as public and private documents, they use Greek characters. Their motive, I take it, is twofold: they are unwilling to allow their doctrines to become common property, or their disciples to trust to documents and neglect to cultivate their memories; for most people find that, if they rely upon documents, they become less diligent in study and their memory is weakened. The doctrine which they are most earnest in inculcating, is that the soul does not perish, but that after death it passes from one body to another. This belief they regard as a powerful incentive to valour, as it inspires contempt for death. They also hold long discussions about the heavenly bodies and their motions, the size of the universe and of the earth, the origin of all things, the power of the gods and the limits of their dominion, and instruct their young scholars accordingly.

(*b*) Source: *Diodorus Siculus*, V, xxxi, from the translation in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, by Petrie and Sharpe.

And there are among them composers of verses whom they call bards; these, singing to instruments similar to

lyres, applaud some while they vituperate others. There are also certain philosophers and priests surpassingly esteemed, whom they call Druids. They have also soothsayers, who are held in high estimation; and these by auguries and the sacrifice of victims foretell future events, and hold the commonalty in complete subjection; and more especially, when they deliberate on matters of moment. They practise a strange and incredible rite; for having devoted a man for sacrifice, they strike him with a sword on a part above the diaphragm; the victim having fallen, they augur from his mode of falling, the contortion of his limbs, and the flowing of the blood, what may come to pass; giving credence concerning such things to an ancient and long-standing observance. They have a custom of performing no sacrifice unattended by a philosopher. For they say that thanksgiving should be offered to the gods by men acquainted with the divine nature and using the same language, and by these they deem it necessary to ask for good things; and not only in the causes of peace but even of war, not friends alone, but even enemies also, chiefs defer to them and to the composers of verses. Frequently during hostilities, when armies are approaching each other with swords drawn and lances extended, these men, rushing between them put an end to their contention, taming them as they tame wild beasts.

(c) Source: Strabo, *Geography*, IV (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*).

The bards are chanters and poets. The soothsayers are sacrificers and physiologists. The Druids in addition to physiology practise ethic philosophy. They are deemed to be most upright, and in consequence, to them are committed both public and private controversies, insomuch that on some occasions they decide on battles, and stop the combatants on the eve of engaging. Matters pertaining to

murder are more especially entrusted to their decision, and when profit accrues from these, they think fertility will attend the country. These and others say that souls are immortal, and that the world is so too; yet that ultimately fire and water will prevail. To their simplicity and ferocity are superadded much stupidity, vain boasting, and love of ornament. They wear gold, having collars thereof on their necks, and bracelets on their arms and wrists, and dignified persons are clad in dyed garments embroidered with gold.

Having stricken the man destined for sacrifice on the back with a sword, they augur from the palpitation. They never sacrifice without the Druids. Other kinds of human immolation are spoken of; some victims they slay with arrows, or crucify for their offerings; and having prepared a colossus of hay, and thrown wood upon it, they burn together oxen, all sorts of wild beasts and men.

7. THE INFLUENCE OF ROME ON BRITAIN [A.D. 84]

SOURCE: Tacitus, *Agricola*, XXI (Hutton).

In order that a population scattered and uncivilised, and proportionately ready for war, might be habituated by comfort to peace and quiet, he [Agricola] would exhort individuals, assist communities to erect temples, market places, houses: he praised the energetic, rebuked the indolent, and the rivalry for his compliments took the place of coercion. Moreover, he began to train the sons of the chieftains to a liberal education, and to give a preference to the native talents of the Briton as against the plodding Gaul. As a result, the nation which used to reject the Latin language began to aspire to rhetoric: further, the wearing of our dress became a distinction, and the toga came into fashion, and little by little the Britons were seduced into alluring vices: to the lounge, the bath, the well appointed dinner-

The Forum, Cilurnum

Roman Street, Cilurnum

Ermine Street

table. The simple natives gave the name of " culture " to this factor of their slavery.

8. THE FOUR GREAT ROMAN ROADS (*circa* A.D. 100)

SOURCE: Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, V, from the translation by T. Forester.

So important was the safety of Britain to its loyal people that, under royal authority, they constructed four great highways from one end of the island to the other, as military roads, by which they might meet any hostile invasion. The first runs from west to east and is called Ichenild. The second runs from south to north and is called Erninge Strate [or Ermeninge Street]. The third crosses the island from Dover to Chester in a direction from south-east to north-west, and is called Watling Street. The fourth, which is longer than the others, commences at Caithness, and terminates in Totness, extending from the borders of Cornwall to the extremity of Scotland; this road runs diagonally from south-west to north-east, passing by Lincoln, and is called the Foss-way. These are the four principal highways of Britain, which are noble and useful works, founded by the edicts of kings and maintained by venerable laws.

BRITAIN UNDER SAXON RULE

9. THE ANCESTORS OF THE FIRST ANGLO-SAXONS

SOURCE: Tacitus, *Germania*, IV *et seq.* (Hutton).

Personally I associate myself with the opinion of those who hold that in the people of Germany there has been given to the world a race untainted by intermarriage with other races, a peculiar people and pure, like no one but themselves; whence it comes that their physique, in spite of their vast numbers, is identical: fierce blue eyes, red hair, tall forms,

powerful only spasmodically, and impatient at the same time, of labour and hard work, and by no means habituated to bearing thirst and heat; to cold and hunger, thanks to the climate and the soil, they are accustomed. . . .

. . . For clothing all wear a cloak, fastened with a clasp, or, in its absence, a thorn; they spend whole days on the hearth round the fire with no other covering. The richest men are distinguished by the wearing of under-clothes; not loose, like those of the Parthians and Sarmatians, but drawn tight, throwing each limb into relief.

They wear also the skins of wild beasts. . . . The women have the same dress as the men, except that very often trailing linen garments, striped with purple, are in use for women: the upper part of the costume does not widen into sleeves; their arms and shoulders are therefore bare, as is the adjoining portion of the breast.

None the less the marriage tie with them is strict; you will find nothing in their character to praise more highly. They are almost the only barbarians who are content with a wife apiece. . . .

On waking from sleep, which they generally prolong into the day, they wash, usually in warm water, since winter bulks so large in their lives; after washing, they take a meal, seated apart, each at his own table; then, arms in hand, they proceed to business, or, just as often, to revelry. . . .

For drink they use the liquid distilled from barley or wheat, after fermentation has given it a certain resemblance to wine. . . . Their diet is simple: wild fruit, fresh venison, curdled milk. . . .

Their shows are all of one kind, and the same whatever the gathering may be: naked youths, for whom there is a form of professional acting, jump and bound between swords and upturned spears. Practice has made them dexterous and dexterity graceful; yet not for hire or gain: however daring be the sport, the spectators' pleasure is the only price

they ask. Gambling, one may be surprised to find, they practise in all seriousness in their sober hours, with such recklessness in winning or losing that, when all else has failed, they staked personal liberty on the last and final throw : the loser faces voluntary slavery : though he be the younger and the stronger man, he suffers himself to be bound and sold. . . .

No race indulges more lavishly in hospitality and entertainment : to close the door against any human being is a crime. Everyone according to his property receives at a well-spread board : should it fail, he who had been your host points out your place of entertainment and goes with you. You go next door, without an invitation, but it makes no difference ; you are received with the same courtesy. Stranger or acquaintance, no one distinguishes them where the right of hospitality is concerned. It is customary to speed the parting guest with anything he fancies. There is the same readiness in turn to ask of him : gifts are their delight, but they neither count upon what they have given, nor are bound by what they have received.

10. ENGLISH SLAVES IN ROME [A.D. 575]

SOURCE : William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, I, III, translated by J. A. Giles.

Some of these youths then, carried from England for sale to Rome, became the means of salvation of all their countrymen. For exciting the attention of that city, by the beauty of their countenances and the elegance of their features, it happened there, among others, the blessed Gregory, at that time archdeacon of the Apostolical See, was present. Admiring such an assemblage of grace in mortals, and at the same time pitying their abject condition, as captives, he asked the standers-by, " Of what race are these ? Whence come they ? " They reply, " By birth they are Angles, by

country are Deiri ; [Deira being a province of Northumbria], subjects of King Alla and Pagans." Their concluding characteristic he accompanied with heartfelt sighs ; to the others he elegantly alluded, saying, " that these Angles, *Angel*-like, should be delivered from (*de*) *ira*, and taught to sing *Alle-luia*." Obtaining permission without delay from Pope Benedict, the industry of this excellent man was all alive to enter on the journey to convert them ; and certainly his zeal would have completed his intended labour, had not the mutinous love of his fellow-citizens recalled him, already on his progress. . . . His good intention, though frustrated at this time, received afterwards during his pontificate an honourable termination.

11. THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND TO CHRISTIANITY

SOURCE : Matthew of Westminster, *Flowers of History*, x, from the translation by C. D. Yonge.

A.D. 596. Augustine, the Servant of God, was sent by the blessed Pope Gregory into Britain to preach the Word of God to the barbarous nation of the Angles. For they, being blinded by Pagan superstitions, had destroyed all Christianity in that part of the Island which they occupied. But among some portions of the Britons, the faith of Christ still flourished which, having been introduced in the hundred and fifty-eighth year after the divine incarnation, was never wholly lost from among them. On the Eastern side of Kent is the Isle of Thanet, on which the man of God, Augustine, and his companions, to the number, as it is reported, of about forty men landed and Augustine, sending interpreters to King Ethelbert, gave him notice that he had come from Rome, and that he was the bearer of excellent tidings, because he promised eternal joy in heaven to those who should obey him. The king, hearing this, came a few days afterwards to the island, and sitting down in the open air,

invited Augustine and his companions to come there to a conference with him. And they, being endowed with divine courage, came, bearing a cross for a standard, and a likeness of our Lord and Saviour depicted on a picture, and chanting litanies for their own salvation, and that of those for whom they had come. And when at the command of the king, they had sat down, they presented the Word of Life to him and to all who had come with him, and he replied saying, "The things which you promise are beautiful but because they are new to me and doubtful I cannot at the moment give my assent to them, forsaking these things which I and my nation have so long preserved. But because you, being foreigners, have come hither from a great distance, and because you have been desirous to communicate to me the things which you yourselves believe to be true and excellent, we are not disposed to deal harshly with you. Nor do we prohibit you from winning over to the faith of your religion, all whom you can influence by preaching." Accordingly, he assigned them an abode in the City of Canterbury, which was the capital of his dominions, where they began to imitate the apostolic life of the primitive church, using continued prayers and fastings, and preaching the Word of God, and bathing all whom they could convince in the laver of salva tion. And immediately many believed and were baptised. . . . On the east there was a church close to the city itself, which had been built in old time in honour of the blessed Martin, in which the Queen, the daughter of the King of France, by name Bertha, had been accustomed to pray, and in which these missionaries began also to meet together and preach and celebrate masses and baptise. And . . . the king himself among them . . . believed and was baptised. He also allotted to the doctors a habitation suitable to their degree in his own metropolis, the City of Canterbury, and he gave them what was necessary for them in their particular.

12. GREGORY'S ORDERS TO HIS MISSIONARIES [A.D. 597]

SOURCE: Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, III (Forester).
Also Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, XXX.

To his most beloved son Mellitus; the Abbott;
Gregory the Servant of the Servants of God.

Since the departure of those we associated with you, we have been very anxious because no tidings have reached us of the success of your journey. When, however, Almighty God shall have conducted you safely to the most reverend Bishop Augustine, our brother, tell him what, after long deliberation on English affairs, I have determined upon, viz. that the temples of idols in that nation ought by no means to be pulled down; but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be consecrated and sprinkled in the said temple; let altars be raised and relics deposited under them. For if these temples are well built it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God; that the people seeing that their temples are not destroyed may cast out error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to places at which they have been used to worship. And inasmuch as they have been accustomed to slaughter many oxen in their sacrifices to devils, some solemnity ought to be substituted for this; on the anniversary of the feast of dedication, or the nativities of the holy martyrs whose relics are then deposited, they may erect booths, with the boughs of trees round those churches which have been converted from temples and celebrate the commemoration with religious festivity. Let them no more offer victims to the devil, but slaughter cattle to the praise of God in their entry, rendering thanks in their fulness to the Giver of all things; that so while some fleshly enjoyments are outwardly permitted, they may more readily be moved

to inward and spiritual joys. For it is doubtless, impossible to extinguish the desire for such indulgences from obdurate minds, and he who endeavours to mount to a lofty summit, ascends by degrees or steps, and not by leaps. Thus the Lord revealed Himself to the people of Israel in Egypt; but permitting the use of sacrifices He reserved to his own worship what before they were accustomed to offer to devils, commanding them to sacrifice animals in the worship of Himself, to the end that, changing their hearts, one thing in sacrifice they might abolish, another they might retain; that although the animals were the same they were wont to offer, yet now being offered to God and not to idols, the sacrifices were no longer the same. These things beloved we require you to communicate to our brothers aforesaid, that we being now present on the spot may consider how we may order all things. May God have you, most beloved son, in His holy keeping."

13. THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH [*circa* A.D. 650]

SOURCE: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, II (Giles).

Theodore arrived at his church the second year after his consecration, on Sunday, the 27th of May. . . . Soon after, he visited all the island, wherever the tribes of the Angles inhabited, for he was willingly entertained and heard by all persons; and everywhere attended and assisted by Hadrian he taught the right rule of life and the Canonical custom of celebrating Easter. This was the first Archbishop whom all the English Church obeyed.

And forasmuch as both of them were, as has been said before, well read both in sacred and in secular literature, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and there daily flowed from them rivers of knowledge to water the hearts of their hearers; and together with the books of holy writ, they also taught

them the arts of ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic. A testimony of which is, that there are still living, at this day some of the scholars, who are as well versed in Greek and Latin tongues as in their own, in which they were born. Nor were there ever happier times since the English came into Britain; for their kings being brave men and good Christians they were a terror to all barbarous nations, and the minds of all men were bent upon the joys of the heavenly kingdom of which they had just heard, and all who desired to be instructed in sacred reading had masters at hand to teach them.

From that time also they began in all the churches of the English to learn sacred music, which till then had been only known in Kent, and, excepting James above mentioned, the first singing master in the churches of the Northumbrians was Eddi, surnamed Stephen, invited from Kent by the most reverend Wilfrid, who was the first of the bishops of the English nation that taught the churches of the English the Catholic mode of life.

Theodore, visiting all parts, ordained bishops in all places, and with their assistance converted such things as he found faulty. . . .

Being arrived in the City of Rochester, where the See had been long vacant by the death of Damianius, he ordained a person better skilled in ecclesiastical discipline, and more addicted to simplicity of life than active in worldly affairs. His name was Putta and he was extraordinarily skilful in the Roman style of church music; which he had learned from the disciples of the holy Pope Gregory. . . .

A.D. 681. Bishop Wilfrid, when he came into the province (South Saxons), and found so great a misery from famine, taught them to get their food by fishing; for the sea and rivers a ounded in fish, but the people had no skill to take them, except eels alone. The bishop's men, having gathered eel-nets everywhere, cast them into the sea, and by the

blessing of God took three hundred fishes of several sorts, which, being divided into three parts, they gave a hundred to the poor, a hundred to those of whom they had the nets, and kept a hundred for their own use.

A.D. 731. Such being the peaceable and calm disposition of the times, many of the Northumbrians, as well of the nobility as private persons, laying aside their weapons rather incline to dedicate both themselves and their children to the tonsure and monastic vows, than to studying martial discipline.

14. CÆDMON, THE ENGLISH SACRED POET [A.D. 680]

SOURCE: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XXIV, from the translation by L. Gidley.

In the monastery of the abbess [Abbess Hilda of Whitby], was a certain brother especially marked by Divine grace, since he was wont to make songs suited to religion and piety, so that whatever he had learned from the Divine writings through interpreters, this he in a little while produced in poetical expressions composed with the greatest harmony and accuracy, in his own tongue, that is, in that of the Angles. By his songs the minds of many were excited to contemn the world, and desire the celestial life. And, indeed, others also after him in the nation of the Angles attempted to compose religious poems, but none could equal him. For he himself did not learn the art of poetry from men, or by being instructed by man; but, being divinely assisted, received gratuitously the gift of singing, on which account he never could compose any frivolous or idle poem, but those only which pertain to religion suited his religious tongue. For having lived in the secular habit unto the time of advanced age, he had never learned anything of singing. Whence, sometimes at an entertainment, when it was determined for the sake of mirth that all should sing in order, he,

when he saw the harp approaching him, used to rise in the midst of his supper, and, having gone out, walk back to his home.

Which, when he was doing on a tune, and, having left the house of entertainment had gone out to the stable of the beasts of burden, the care of which was entrusted to him on that night, and there, at the proper hour had resigned his limbs to sleep, a certain one stood by him in a dream, who saluting him and calling him by his name, said, "Cædmon, sing me something." Then he answering said, "I know not how to sing; and for that reason I went out from the entertainment and returned hither, because I could not sing." Again he who was talking with him, said, "Yet you have something to sing to me." "What," said he, "must I sing?" The other said, "Sing the beginning of created things." Having received this reply, he immediately began to sing verses in praise of God the Creator, which he had never heard, whereof this is the purport:—"Now we must praise the Author of the celestial kingdom, the power of the Creator and His counsel, the deeds of the Father of glory. How He, being Eternal God, was the author of all wonderful things; who first created heaven for the sons of men, on the roof of their dwellings, and afterwards created the earth, being the omnipotent guardian of mankind." This is the sense, but not the exact order of the words which he sang in his sleep, for songs, however excellently composed, cannot be translated from one tongue into another, word for word, without some loss of their beauty and spirit. Moreover, on his rising up from sleep, he retained in memory all that he had sung in his dream, and presently added to it more words of song worthy of God, after the same fashion.

And coming in the morning to the steward who was set over him, he told him what a gift he had received; and having been brought to the abbess, he was ordered, in the presence of many learned men, to declare his dream, and to repeat the

song, that it might be tested, by the judgment of all, what or whence it was that he related. And all concluded that a celestial gift had been granted him by the Lord. And they interpreted to him a certain passage of sacred history or doctrine, and ordered him to transpose it, if he could, into hallowed rhythm. And he, having undertaken it, departed, and returning in the morning, brought back what he was ordered to do, composed in most excellent verse. Whereupon presently the abbess, embracing heartily the grace of God in the man, instructed him to leave the secular habit and to take the monastic vow; and having, together with all her people, received him into the monastery, associated him with the company of the brethren and ordered him to be instructed in the whole course of sacred history. And he converted into most sweet song whatever he could learn from hearing, by thinking it over by himself, and, as though a clean animal, by *ruminations*; and by making it resound more sweetly, made his teachers in turn his hearers. . . .

15. THE INDUSTRY OF BEDE

SOURCE: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, V, XXIV (Gidley).

These things concerning the ecclesiastical History of Britain, and chiefly of the nature of the Angles, I, Bede, the servant of Christ, and presbyter of the monastery of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which is at Viuræmuda [Wearmouth], and Ingynum [Jarrow], have with the Lord's help, set in order, according as I could learn either from the writings of the ancients, or from the traditions of our forefathers, or by my own knowledge.

I was born on the land of the same monastery, and when I was seven years of age, I was entrusted by my relatives to the most reverend abbot Benedict, to be brought up, and afterwards to Ceolfrid; and dwelling all the succeeding time

of my life under the roof of the said monastery, I gave all my attention to the study of the Scriptures; and while observing the regular discipline, and the daily charge of singing in the Church, I always took delight in learning, teaching and writing.

Moreover, in the nineteenth year of my age, I received the diaconate, and in my thirtieth year the degree of the priesthood; each by the ministry of the most reverend bishop John, by the order of Abbot Ceolfrid.

From the time that I received the degree of priests' orders unto the fifty-ninth year of my age, I have been occupied in making the following brief annotations on Holy Scripture, for my own and my scholars' use, out of the works of the venerable fathers, or even in making some additions to the form of the meaning and interpolations given by them.

[Here follows a list of sixty works compiled by Bede on various books in the Old and New Testaments.]

Also, a book of letters to various persons: of which one is concerning the six ages of the world . . . one concerning the method of leap year: one concerning the equinox. . . .

Also concerning the histories of the saints, I have translated the book of the Life and Passion of St. Teha the Confessor into prose, from the metrical book of Paulinus.

I have corrected, according to the sense, as well as I was able, the book of the Life and Passion of St. Anastasius, which had been badly translated from the Greek and worse amended by some unskilful person.

I have described the life of the holy father, both monk and bishop, Cudberct, first in heroic metre, and afterwards in plain prose.

The history of the abbots of this monastery . . . two books.

The Ecclesiastical History of our island and nation, in five books.

A Martyrology, concerning the birthdays of holy writers.

A Book of Hymns, in different metres or rhythm.

A Book of Epigrams in heroic, or elegiac, metre.

Concerning the Nature of Things, and concerning Tunes, one book each.

Also, Concerning Tunes; one large Book.

A book concerning Orthography, arranged in alphabetical order.

Also a book concerning the Metrical Art; and in addition to this, another small book, concerning Figures or Tropes, that is, concerning the figures or modes of speech, which are to be found in Holy Scripture.

THE COMING OF THE NORTHMEN

16. THE NORTHMEN AT SEA

SOURCE: *The Deeds of Beowulf*, III *et seq.*, translated by J. Earle.

(*a*) *The Voyage*

He (Beowulf) ordered a wave-traveller, a good one, to be prepared for him; said he would pass over the swan road and visit the gallant king the illustrious ruler inasmuch as he was in need of men. That adventure was little grudged him by sagacious men, though he was dear to them, they egged on the dareful spirit, they observed auguries. The brave man had selected champions, the keenest whom he could find; with fourteen in company he took to ship; a swain [1] for pilot, a water-skilled man, pointed out the landmarks.

Time went on; the float was on the waves, the boat under the cliffs. Warriors ready equipped mounted on the prow; currents eddied, surf against the beach; lads bore into the ship's lap bright apparel . . .; the men brave on adventure shoved off the light timbered craft. So the foamy necked floater went forth over the swelling ocean urged by the wind,

[1] Servant.

most like to a bird; till that in due time on the next day, the cruiser had made such way that the voyagers saw land, sea cliffs gleaming, hills towering, headlands stretching out to sea; then with the voyage accomplished, the water passage ended. Then they made fast the sea-wood, they shook out their sarks,[1] their war weeds, they thanked God for that their sea-faring had been easy.

(*b*) *The Landing*

Then from his rampart did the Scylding's[2] Warden, he who had to guard the sea-cliffs, espy men bearing over bulwark bright shields, . . . curiosity urged him with impassioned thoughts (to learn) who these men were.

Off he set then to the shore, riding on horseback; powerfully he brandished a huge lance in his hands, and he demanded with authoritative words, "Who are ye arm-bearing men, fenced with mail coats, who have come thus with proud ship over the watery high-way, hither over the billows? Long time have I been in fort stationed on the extremity of the country, I have kept the coast guard that on the land of the Dane no enemy with ship-harrying might be able to do hurt—never have shield-bearing men now openly attempted to land here; now do ye know before hand the password of our warriors, the confidential token of Kinsmen."

[After satisfying the coast guard] They proceeded then on their march, the vessel remained still, rode on her cable, the wide-bosomed ship at anchor fast:—the boar figures shone, prankt[3] with gold, ornate and hard welded. . . . In fighting mood they raged along, the men pushed forward; down hill they ran together until they could see the Hall structure, gallant and gold adorned; that was to dwellers on earth the most celebrated of all mansions under the sky, that in which the Ruler dwelt. . . .

[1] Shirts. [2] Chieftain. [3] Adorned.

17. PICTURES OF NORSE LIFE

SOURCE: *The Deeds of Beowulf* (Earle).

(*a*) *The Arrival at the Hall*

The street was stone paven; the path guided the bonded men. The war corslet shone hard; the polished ring-iron sang in its meshes, when they in grim harness now came marching to the Hall. The sea-weary men set down their broad shields, bucklers mortal hard against the terrace of that mansion. They then seated themselves on the bench; their mail-coats rang, harness of warriors:—the spears stood, sea-men's artillery, stacked together, ash-timber with tip of grey; the iron-troop was accoutred worthily. . . .

(*b*) *The Banquet*

Then was there for the Goth-men all together, in the beer hall, a table cleared; there the resolute men went to sit in the pride of their strength. A thane attended to the service; one who bore in his hand a decorated ale-can. He poured forth the sheer nectar. At times a ministrel sang, clear-voiced in Heorot; there was social merriment, a brave company of Danes, . . . There was laughter of mighty men; music sounded; the words [of song] were jovial. . . .

Wealhtheow moved forward, Heothgar's Queen, mindful of ceremonies; she greeted in her gold array the men in Hall; and then the noble lady presented the beaker first to the sovereign of the East Danes, wished him blithe at the banquet and dear to his friends—he merrily enjoyed the feast, and the Hall-cup, valiant king. Then the Helming princess went the round, to elder and to younger, every part; handed the jewelled cup; till the moment came, that she, the diademed queen, with dignity befitting, brought the mead-cup right to Beowulf; she greeted the Leed of the Goths. . . . He, the death-doing warrior, accepted the beaker at Wealhtheow's hand [and suitably replied]. To

the lady the words were well liking, the valiant speech of the Goth; she walked gold-arrayed, high-born queen of the nation, to sit by her lord.

(*c*) *And so to Bed*

Then was again . . . the lofty word outspoken, the company was happy, the sound was that of a mighty people; until suddenly the king was minded to retire to his nightly rest. . . . All the company arose. Then did man greet man. Heothgar greeted Beowulf, bespoke him luck, mastery in the house of hospitality and delivered this speech. . . . So Heothgar, chief of Scyldings, took his departure with retinue of men out of Hall . . . Then put he off from him his iron byrnie,[1] helmet from head; delivered to his esquire the richly decorated sword, choicest steel; and charged him with the care of his war-harness. Then did the valiant man Beowulf the Goth utter some vaunting words 'ere he mounted on bed. . . . Then the daring warrior laid him down; the pillow received the countenance of the lord; and round about him many a smart sea-warrior crouched to his hall-rest.

(*d*) *Riding, Racing, Tale-telling*

Now and then the gallant warriors loosened their russet-horses for a gallop, to run a match, where the turfways looked fair or were favourably known. Other whiles, a thane of the king's, bombastic groom, his mind full of ballads, the man who remembered good store of old-world tales—word followed word by the bond of truth—began anon to rehearse, cunningly to compose, the adventure of Beowulf, and fluently to pursue the story in its order, with interesting words. . . . At intervals racing, they with their horses measured the fallow streets.

[1] Coat of mail.

(*e*) *Rejoicings and Giving of Gifts*

Then was the order promptly given that the interior of Heorot should be decorated; many there were, of men and of women, who garnished that genial palace, hospitable hall. Gold-glistening shone the brocaded tapestries along the walls, pictures many for the wonder of all people who have an eye for such. . . . They went to bench in merry guise—while their kinsmen enjoyed the copious feast, and with fair courtesy quaffed many a mead-bowl. . . . Then did the son of Healfdene present to Beowulf a golden ensign in reward of victory, decorated staff banner, helmet and mail-coat, many beheld when they brought the grand treasure sword before the hero. Beowulf tasted the beaker on the hall-floor; no need had he to be ashamed of that bounty giving before the archers. There are not many instances of men giving to others at ale-bench four treasures gold bedight [1] in friendlier wise.[2]

Then did the . . . [chieftain] . . . command to bring eight horses gold-cheeked into the court within the palings; on one of them stood the saddle gaily caparisoned and decorated with silver, which was the war seat of the high king when he was minded to exercise the play of swords. And then did the chief deliver unto Beowulf possession of both at once, both horses and arms;—bade him enjoy them well.

Moreover, to each of those who had made the voyage with Beowulf, did the Captain of warriors give a precious gift at the mead-bench; an old heirloom. . . . Then was song and instrumental music together blended, concerning Healfdene's war-chief, the harp was struck, a ballad often recited, what time the hall-joy along the mead-bench was provoked by Heothgar's minstrel. . . . Enjoyment rose high as before, bright was the sound of revelry, the drawers served wine out of curious flagons. Then came Wealhtheow forward,

[1] Decorated with. [2] Manner.

moving under her golden diadem [and presented gifts to Beowulf]. She went then to her chair. There was high festivity; men drank wine. . . . By and by the evening came, and Hcothgar betook him to his lodge, the prince to his repose.

Courteous nobles guarded the Hall, as they had often done in earlier times; they cleared away the bench-boards; it was strewn throughout with beds and bolsters. . . . At their heads they set the shields, the bright bucklers, there on the bench was over each etheling, plain to be seen, the towering war helmet, the ringed mail-coat, the shaft of awful power. Their custom was that they were constantly for war, whether at home or in the field, in both cases alike, whatever the occasion on which their liege lord had need of their services—it was a good people.

18. THE PASSING OF A VIKING

SOURCE: *The Deeds of Beowulf*, Prologue (Earle).

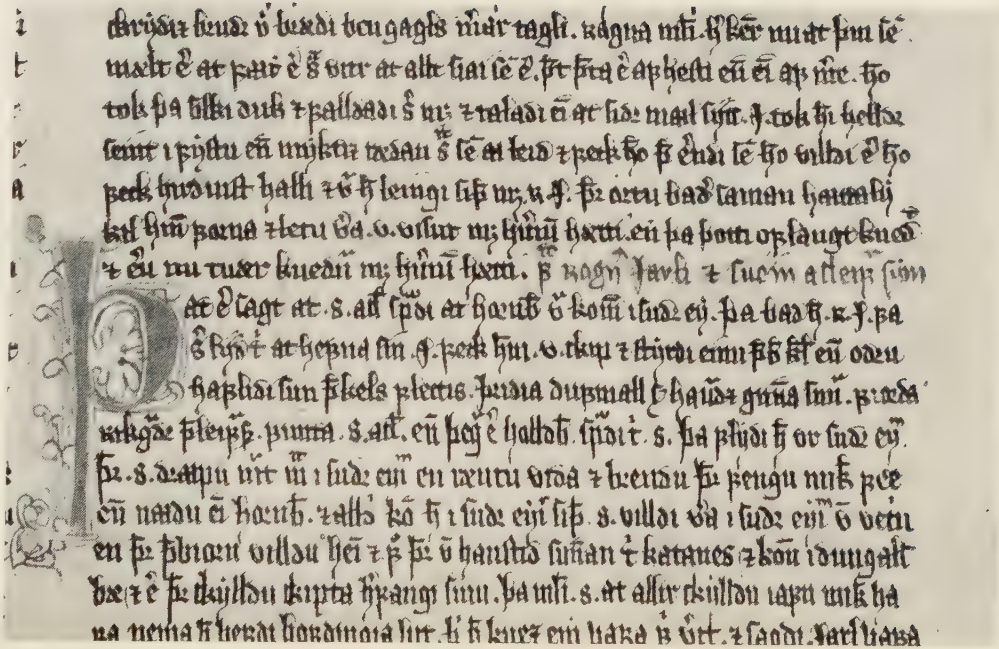
As for Scyld,[1] he departed, at the destined hour, full of exploit, to go into the Master's keeping. They then carried him forth to the shore of the sea, his faithful comrades, as he himself had requested, while he with his words held sway as lord of the Scyldings; dear chief of the land, he had long tenure of power.

There at the landing-place stood the ship with ringed prow, glistening afresh, and outward bound; convoy for a prince. Down laid they there the beloved chief, dispenser of jewels, on the lap of the ship, the illustrious (dead) by the mast.

There was store of precious things, ornaments from remote ports, brought together; never heard I of craft comelier fitted with slaughter weapons and campaigning harness, with swords and breast-mail;—in his keeping lay a multitude

[1] The Danish Chieftain.

Ornaments of the Viking Period



Part of the Orkneyinga Saga

of treasures, which were to pass with him far away into the watery realm. Not at all with less gifts, less stately opulence, did they outfit him, than those had done, who at the first had sent him forth; lone over the wave, when he was an infant. Furthermore, they set up by him a gold wrought banner, high over his head; they let the flood bear him, gave him over to the ocean; sad was their soul, mourning their mood. Who received that burthen, men, heads of Halls, heroes under heaven cannot for certain tell.

19. BEOWULF'S FUNERAL

SOURCE: *The Deeds of Beowulf*, III, XLIII (Earle)

For him, then, did the Leeds of the Goths construct a pyre upon the earth, one of no mean dimensions, hung about with helmets, with battle swords, with bright byrnies,[1] as he had requested; then did they, heaving deep sighs, lay in the midst of it the illustrious cheftain, the hero, the beloved lord. Then began the warriors to kindle upon the hill the highest of bale[2]-fires; the wood smoke mounted up black over the combustive mass, the roaring blaze shot aloft, mingled with the howling of the wind-currents; until, the sweltering element had demolished the bone house. With hearts distressed and care-laden minds they mourned their liege lord's death. . . .

Then did the people . . . construct a tumulus on the hill; it was high and broad, to sea-voyagers widely conspicuous; and during ten days they laboured about the building of the war-hero's beacon. They surrounded the ashes of the conflagration with an embankment in such wise as men of eminent skill could contrive it with noblest effort. They deposited in the barrow collars and brilliants, the whole of such trappings as war-breathing men had recently captured.

[1] Coats of mail. [2] Mourning.

Then there rode around the tumulus war-chiefs, sons of ethelings, twelve in all: they would bewail their loss, bemoan the king, recite an elegy and celebrate his name.

20. VIKING VOYAGES

SOURCE: *Icelandic Sagas*, Vol. III. *The Orkneyingers' Saga*, translated by Sir G. W. Dasent. Rolls Series.

When Hacon was but a few winters old, Sweyn Asleif's son offered to take him as his foster child, and he was bred up there [the Orkneys], and as soon as ever he was so far fit, that he could go about with other men, the Sweyn had him away with him a sea-roving every summer, and led him to worthiness in everything. It was Sweyn's wont at that time that he sat through the winter at home in Gairsay, and there he kept always about him eight men at his beck. He had so great a drinking-hall, that there was not another as great in all the Orkneys. Sweyn had in the spring hard work, and made them lay down very much seed, and looked much after it himself, but when that toil was ended he fared away every spring on a viking voyage, and harried about the Southern Isles and Iceland, and came home after midsummer; That he called spring-viking. Then he was at home until the cornfields were reaped down, and the grain seen to, and stored; then he fared away on a viking voyage, and then he did not come home until the winter was one month spent, and that he called his autumn-viking. . . .

On the spring cruise they had five ships with oars and all of them large. They harried about among the Southern Isles. Then the folk was so scared at him in the Southern Isles that men hid all their goods and chattels in the earth or in piles of rocks. Sweyn sailed as far south as Man, and got ill off for spoil. But when they came about south under Dublin, then two keels sailed there from off the main, which

had come from England and meant to steer for Dublin; they were laden with English cloths, and great store of goods were aboard them. Sweyn and his men pulled up to the keels, and offered them battle. Little came of the defence of the Englishmen before Sweyn gave the word to board. Then the Englishmen were made prisoners. And then they robbed them of every penny which was aboard the keels, save that the Englishmen kept the clothes they stood in and some food, and went on their way afterwards with the keels, but Sweyn and his men fared to the Southern Isles, and shared their war spoil. They sailed from the west with great pomp. They did this as a glory for themselves when they lay in harbours, that they threw awnings of English cloth over their ships. But when they sailed into the Orkneys they sewed the cloth on to the forepart of the sails, so that it looked in that wise as though the sails were made altogether of broadcloth. This they called the broadcloth cruise. Sweyn fared home to his house in Gairsay. He had taken from the keels much wine and English mead.

THE WELDING OF THE RACE

21. THE FIRST MAKERS OF GLASS IN ENGLAND

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, I, III (Giles).

For even Britain, which by some is called another world since, surrounded by the ocean, it is not thoroughly known by many geographers, possesses, in its remotest region, bordering on Scotland, the place of his [the Venerable Bede's] birth and education. This region, formerly exhaling the grateful odour of monasteries, or glittering with a multitude of cities built by the Romans, now desolate through the ancient devastation of the Danes, or those

more recent of the Normans [1] presented little to allure the mind.

Here is the River Wear, of considerable breadth and rapid tide; which running into the sea, receives the vessels borne by gentle gales, on the calm bosom of its haven. Both its banks [2] have been made conspicuous by one Benedict who there built churches and monasteries; one dedicated to Peter and the other to Paul, united in the bond of brotherly love and of monastic rule. The industry and forebearance of the men, anyone will admire who reads the book which Bede composed concerning his life, and those of the succeeding abbots; his industry in bringing over a multitude of books and being the first person who introduced in England constructors of stone edifices as well as makers of glass windows; in which pursuits he spent almost his whole life abroad; the love of his country and his taste for elegance beguiling his painful labour, in the earnest desire of conveying something to his countrymen out of the common way; for very rarely before the time of Benedict were buildings of stone seen in Britain, nor did the Solar ray cast its light through the transparent glass.

22. THE EDUCATION OF ALFRED THE GREAT [A.D. 864]

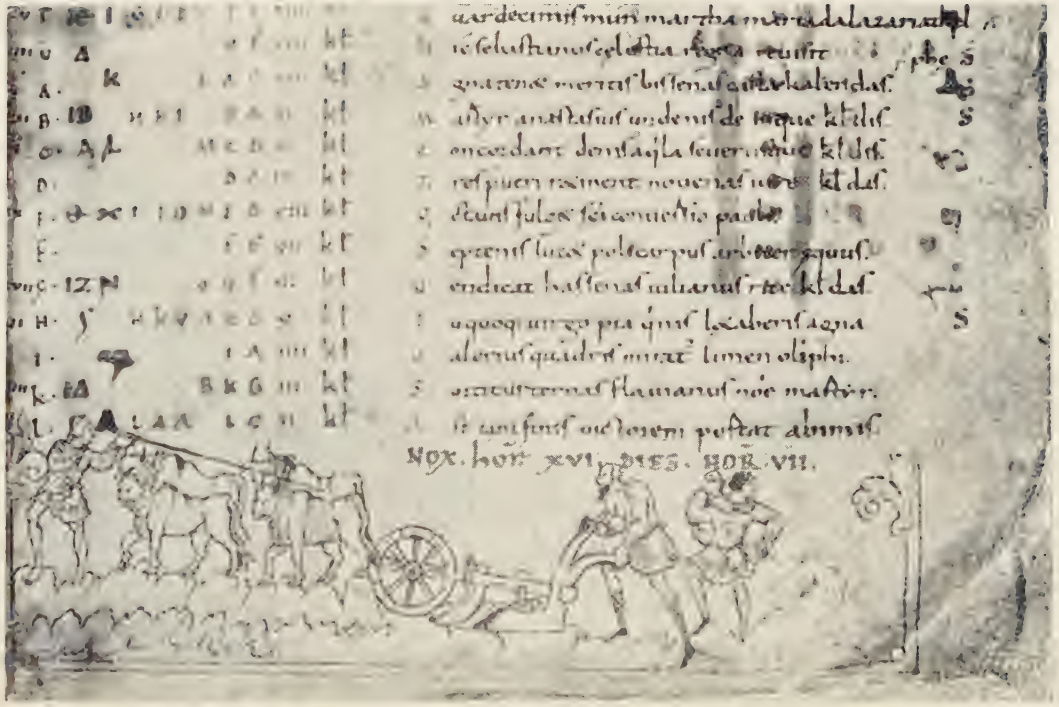
SOURCE: Asser, *Life of Alfred*, from the translation by J. A. Giles, in *Six Old English Chronicles.*

He was loved by his father and mother, and even by all the people, above all his brothers, and was educated altogether at the court of the king. As he advanced through the years of infancy and youth, his form appeared more

[1] The Danes laid waste the North of England in A.D. 793 and continued their devastation throughout the reign of Alfred and Ethelred. William the Conqueror harried the whole of the country north of the Humber with fire and sword in A.D. 1069.

[2] Not quite correct: Jarrow, one of Benedict's monasteries, is on the River Tyne.

Monkwearmouth Church Tower



Old English Ploughmen

comely than that of his brothers; in look, in speech, and in manners he was more graceful than they. His noble nature implanted in him from his cradle a love of wisdom above all things, but, with shame be it spoken, by the unworthy neglect of his parents and nurses, he remained illiterate even till he was twelve years old or more, but he listened with serious attention to the Saxon poems which he often heard recited, and easily retained them in his docile memory. He was a zealous practiser of hunting in all its branches, and hunted with great assiduity and success, for skill and good fortune in this art, as in all others, are among the gifts of God, as we also have often witnessed.

On a certain day, therefore, his mother was showing him and his brother a Saxon book of poetry, which she held in her hand, and said, "Whichever of you shall the soonest learn this volume shall have it for his own." Stimulated by these words, or rather by the Divine inspiration, and allured by the beautifully illuminated letter at the beginning of the volume, he spoke before all his brothers, who, though his seniors in age, were not so in grace, and answered, "Will you really give that book to one of us, that is to say, to him who can first understand and repeat it to you?" At this his mother smiled with satisfaction, and confirmed what she had before said. Upon which the boy took the book out of her hand, and went to his master to read it, and in due time brought it to his mother and recited it.

After this he learned the daily course, that is, the celebration of the hours and afterwards certain psalms, and several prayers, contained in a certain book which he kept day and night in his bosom, as we ourselves have seen, and carried about with him to assist his prayers, amid all the bustle and business of this present life. But, sad to say! he could not gratify his most ardent wish to learn the liberal arts, because, as he said, there were no good readers at that time in all the kingdom of the West-Saxons.

23. OF PEOPLE'S RANK AND LAW

SOURCE: Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England.*

1. It was whilom,[1] in the laws of the English, that people and law went by ranks, and then were the counsellors of the nation of worship worthy, each according to his condition "eorl," and "ceorl," "thegen" and "theoden."

2. And if a "ceorl" thrived, so that he had fully five hides[2] of his own land, church, and kitchen, bell-house . . . and special duty in the king's hall, then was he thenceforth of thane-right worthy.

3. If a thane thrived, so that he served the king, and on his summons rode among his household; and if he then had a thane, who, in the king's hall served his lord and thrice with his errand went to the king; he might thenceforth, with his "fore-oath" his lord represent, at various needs, and his plaint lawfully conduct, wheresoever he ought.

4. And if a thane thrived so that he became an "eorl" then was he henceforth of "eorl"-right worthy.

5. And if a merchant thrived so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own means, then was he thenceforth of thane-right worthy.

6. And if there a scholar were, who through learning thrived, so that he had holy orders, and served Christ; then was he thenceforth of rank and power so much more worthy.

24. WORKERS AND THEIR WORK

SOURCE: *The Colloquies of Aelfric*: adapted from the translation by Thorpe in *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica.*

[The plowman says:] "I work hard; I go out at day break, driving the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plow. Be it never so stark winter I dare not linger at home for fear of my lord; but having yoked my oxen, and fastened

[1] Formerly.

[2] Approximately 100 acres.

share and coulter, every day I must plow a full acre or more. I have a boy driving the oxen with a goad-iron, who is hoarse with cold and shouting. And I do more also. I have to fill the oxen's bins with hay and water them, and take out their litter . . . mighty hard work it is, for I am not free."

[The shepherd says:] "In the first of the morning I drive my sheep to their pasture and stand over them, in heat and in cold with my dogs, lest the wolves swallow them up; and I lead them back to their folds and milk them twice a day; and their folds I move; and I make cheese and butter, and I am true to my lord."

[The Oxherd says:] "When the plowman unyokes the oxen, I lead them to pasture, and all night I stand over them, waking against thieves; and then again in the early morning I betake them, well filled and watered, to the plowman."

[The king's Hunter says:] "I braid me nets and set them in fit places, and set my hounds to follow up the wild game, till they come unsuspecting to the net and are caught therein; and I slay them in the net. . . . With swift hounds I hunt down wild game. I take harts and boars, and bucks and roes, and sometimes hares. I give the king what I take, because I am his hunter. He clothes me well, and feeds me, and sometimes gives me a horse as an arm-ring that I may pursue my craft the more merrily."

[The Fisher says:] "I go on board my boat and cast my net into the river, and cast my angle and baits, and what they catch I take. I cast the unclean fish away and take me the clean for meat. The citizens buy my fish. I cannot catch as many as I could sell. Eels and pike, minnows and eel-pout, trout and lampreys. . . . In the sea I catch herrings and lax [salmon] porpoises, and sturgeon, oysters and crabs, mussels, periwinkles, sea-cockles, plaice and fluke [flounder], and lobsters and many of the like. . . . It is a perilous thing to catch a whale. It is pleasanter for me to

go to the river with my boat than to go with many boats whale-hunting."

[The fowler says :] "In many ways I trick the birds—sometimes with nets, with gins, with lime, with whistling, with a hawk, with traps."

[The merchant says :] "I go aboard my ship with my goods, and I go over sea and sell my things, and buy precious things which are not produced in this country, and bring them hither to you . . . pall [brocade] and silk, precious gems and gold, various raiment, and dye-stuffs, wine and oil, ivory and mastling [brass-stone], copper and tin, sulphur and glass and the like, and I wish to sell them dearer here than I buy there, that I may get some profit wherewith I may feed myself and my wife and my sons."

25. A USEFUL AND SHREWD INVENTION [A.D. 888]

SOURCE: Asser, *Life of Alfred* (Giles).

After long reflection on these things, Alfred at length, by a useful and shrewd invention, commanded his chaplains to supply wax in a sufficient quantity, and he caused it to be weighed in such a manner that when there was so much of it in the scales, as would equal the weight of seventy-two pence, he caused the chaplains to make six candles thereof, each of equal length, so that each candle might have twelve divisions marked longitudinally upon it. By this plan, therefore, those candles burned for twenty-four hours, a night and day, without fail, before the sacred relics of many of God's elect, which always accompanied him wherever he went ; but sometimes when they would not continue burning a whole day and night, till the same hour that they were lighted the preceding evening, from the violence of the wind, which blew day and night without intermission through the doors and windows of the churches, the fissures of the divi-

sions, the plankings, or the wall, or the thin canvass of the tents, they then unavoidably burned out and finished their course before the appointed time, the king therefore considered by what means he might shut out the wind, and so by a useful and cunning invention, he ordered a lantern to be beautifully constructed of wood and white ox-horn, which, when skilfully planed till it is thin, is no less transparent than a vessel of glass. This lantern, therefore, was wonderfully made of wood and horn, as we before said, and by night a candle was put into it, which shone as brightly without as within, and was not extinguished by the wind, for the opening of the lantern was also closed up, according to the king's command, by a door made with horn.

26. ALFRED'S LOVE OF LEARNING [A.D. 884]

SOURCE: Asser, *Life of Alfred* (Giles).

Ethelwerd, the youngest of Alfred's children, by the divine counsels and the admirable prudence of the king, was consigned to the schools of learning, where, with the children of almost all the nobility of the country, and many also who were not noble, he prospered under the diligent care of his teachers. Books in both languages, namely, Latin and Saxon, were read in the school. They also learned to write; so that before they were of an age to practise many arts, namely, hunting and such pursuits as befit noblemen, they became studious and clever in the liberal arts. . . .

In the meantime the king, during the frequent wars and other trammels of this present life, the invasion of the pagans, and his own daily infirmities of body, continued to carry on the government and to exercise hunting in all its branches; to teach his workers in gold and artificers of all kinds, his falconers, hawkers, and dogkeepers; to build houses, majestic and good, beyond all the precedents of his ancestors,

by his new mechanical inventions ; to recite the Saxon books, and especially to learn by heart the Saxon poems, and to make others learn them. He alone never desisted from studying most diligently to the best of his ability. He attended mass and other daily services of religion. He was frequent in psalm-singing and prayer at the hours both of the day and night. He also went to the churches in the night-time to pray, secretly and unknown to his courtiers. He bestowed alms and largesses on both natives and foreigners of all countries. He was affable and pleasant to all, and curiously eager to investigate things unknown. Many Franks, Frisians, Gauls, pagans, Britons, Scots, and Armoricans, noble and ignoble, submitted voluntarily to his dominion.

But God at that time, as some consolation to the king's benevolence, yielding to his complaint, sent certain lights to illuminate him, namely, Werefrith, bishop of the church of Worcester, a man well versed in Divine Scripture, who, by the king's command, first turned the book of the Dialogues of Pope Gregory and Peter, his disciple, from Latin into Saxon, and sometimes putting sense for sense interpreted them with clearness and elegance. After him was Plegmund, a Mercian by birth, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, a venerable man and endowed with wisdom ; Ethelstan, also, and Werewulf, his priests and chaplains, Mercians by birth and learned men. These four had been invited out of Mercia by King Alfred, who exalted them with many honours in the Kingdom of the West Saxons. By their teaching and wisdom the king's desires increased inceasingly, and were gratified. Night and day, whenever he had leisure, he commanded such men as these to read books to him—for he never suffered himself to be without one of them—and thus he acquired a knowledge of every book.

But the king's commendable avarice could not be gratified even by this, for he sent messengers beyond the sea to Gaul

to procure teachers, and he invited from thence Grimbald, priest and monk, a venerable man and good singer, adorned with every kind of ecclesiastical discipline and good morals, and most learned in Holy Scripture. He also obtained from thence John, also priest and monk, a man of most energetic talents and learned in all kinds of literary science, and skilled in many other arts. By the teaching of these two men the king's mind was much enlarged, and he enriched and honoured them with much influence.

27. SOME PENALTIES FOR WOUNDS [*circa* A.D. 890]

SOURCE: Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes.*

If a man's arm with the hand, be entirely cut off before the elbow, let "bōt" [reparation] be made for it LXXX shillings.

If a man break another's rib within the whole skin, let X shillings be paid as "bōt"; if the skin be broken, and bone be taken out let XV shillings be paid as "bōt."

(*Laws of King Alfred.*)

If a thumb be struck off, XX shillings. If a thumb nail be off let "bōt" be made with III shillings. If the shooting (*i.e.* fore) finger be struck off let "bōt" be made with VIII shillings. If the middle finger be struck off let "bōt" be made with IV shillings. If the gold [*i.e.* ring] finger be struck off, let "bōt" be made with VI shillings. If the little finger be struck off, let "bōt" be made with XI shillings.

For every nail a shilling.

If a foot be cut off let L shillings be paid.

If a great toe be cut off let X shillings be paid.

For each of the other toes let one half be paid, like as is stated for the fingers. (*Laws of King Aethelbirht.*)

28. THE FIRST NAVY [A.D. 897]

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, translated by Thorpe in the Rolls Series. Vol II.

Then King Aelfred commanded long ships to be built against them [the Danes] which was full-nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, some more; they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher than the others; they were shapen neither as the Frisian nor the Danish, but as it seemed to himself that they might be most useful.

29. THE EDUCATION OF A KING'S CHILDREN [A.D. 912]

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, II, v (Giles).

Edward [the son of Alfred] brought up his daughters in such wise, that in childhood they gave their whole attention to literature, and afterwards employed themselves in the labours of the distaff and needle. . . . His sons were so educated, as, first, to have the completest benefit of learning, that afterwards they might succeed to govern the State, not like rustics, but philosophers.

30. HOW THE DANES RAVAGED ENGLAND [A.D. 837]

SOURCE: Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, V, Preface, adapted from Forester's translation.

But the Danes by inroad after inroad overran the land; not to settle came they but to spoil, to harry rather than to conquer. And if anywhere they were worsted it was of no avail, for then would they raid some other spot, with a larger fleet and a stronger force. Wonder was it when the English kings were hasting to meet them in the East, ere they could come up with their bands a breathless scout would run in, saying, "Sir King, whither marchest thou? The heathen have banded in the south a countless fleet.

Towns and hamlets are in flames, fire and slaughter are on every side." Yea, and that every day another would come running: "Sir King, why withdrawest thou? A fearsome host has come to shore in the West. If ye face them not speedily, they will hold that ye flee, and will be on your rear with fire and sword?" Again on the morrow, would dash up yet another, saying, "What place make ye for, noble chieftain? In the North have the Danes made a raid. Already have they burnt your dwellings. Even now are they sweeping off your goods, tossing your babes on their spearpoints, dishonouring your wives, and haling them to captivity!" Bewildered by such tidings of bitter woe, both king and people lost heart and strength both of mind and body and were utterly cast down.

31. HOW THE DANES TREATED THE ENGLISH [*circa* A.D. 900]

SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, I.

But now, ere we proceed any further; we will show what rule the Danes kept here in this realm before they were thus murdered, as in some books we find recorded. Whereas it is shown that the Danes compelled the husbandmen to till the ground and do all manner of labour and toil to be done about husbandry; the Danes lived upon the fruit and gains that came thereof. And when the husbandmen came home, then could they scarce have such sustenance of meats and drinks as fell for servants to have; so that, the Danes had all their commandments, eating and drinking of the best, where the silly man that was the owner, could hardly come to his fill of the worst. Besides this, the common people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for fear and dread they called them in every such house where any of them sojourned, Lord Dane, and if an Englishman and a Dane chanced to meet at any bridge or straight passage, the Englishman must stay till the Lord Dane were passed.

32. DOOM CONCERNING HOT IRON AND WATER [*circa* A.D. 930]

SOURCE: Laws of King Athelstan (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*).

And concerning the ordeal we enjoin by the command of God, and of the archbishop, and of all bishops; that no man come within the church after the fire is borne in with which the ordeal shall be heated, except the mass-priest, and him who shall go thereto. Let there be measured nine feet from the stake to the mark, by the man's feet who goes thereto. But if it be water, let it be heated till it low to boiling. And be the kettle of iron or of brass or of lead or of clay. And if it be a single accusation, let the hand dive after the stone up to the wrist; and if it be threefold, up to the elbow. And when the ordeal is ready, then let two men go in of either side; and be they agreed that it is so hot as we before have said. And let go in an equal number of men of either side and stand on both sides of the ordeal, along the church; and let these all be fasting on that night; and let the mass-priest sprinkle holy-water over them all, and let each of them taste of the holy water, and give them all the book and the image of Christ's rood to kiss; and let no man mend the fire any longer, when the hallowing is begun; but let the iron lie upon the hot embers till the last collect; after that, let it be laid upon the "stapela" [pile of wood], and let there be no other speaking within, except that they earnestly pray to Almighty God that He make manifest what is soothest. And let him go thereto; and let his hand be enveloped, and be it postponed till after the third day, whether it be foul or clean within the envelope. And he who shall break this law, be the ordeal with respect to him void, and let him pay to the king one hundred and twenty shillings as "wite" [fine].

33. SOME EARLY LAWS CONCERNING THE ASSEMBLING OF COUNCILS [*circa* A.D. 970]

SOURCE: Laws of King Edgar (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*).

(*a*) "And let the 'hundred-gemot'[1] be attended as it was before fixed; and thrice in the year let a 'burh-gemot' be held; and twice a shire-gemot'; and let there be present the bishop of the shire and the 'Ealdorman,' and these both expound as well the law of God as the secular law."

(*b*) This is the ordinance how the hundred shall be held:

First, that they meet always within four weeks; and that every man do justice to another.

2. That a thief shall be pursued . . .

If there be present need, let it be made known to the hundred man, and let him [make it known] to the tithing men; and let all go forth to where God may direct them to go; let them do justice on the thief.

7. In the hundred, as in any other gemot, we ordain; that folk-right be pronounced in every suit, and that a term be fixed, when it shall be fulfilled. And he who shall break that term, unless it be by his lord's decree, let him make his "bōt"[2] with XXX shillings, and on the day fixed, fulfil that which he ought to have done before.

8. An ox's bell, and a dog's collar, and a bleathorn; either of these three shall be worth a shilling, and each is reckoned an informer.

9. Let the iron that is for the threefold ordeal weigh III pounds; and for the single one pound.

[1] Gemot = a mote or moot, meeting, public assembly.
[2] Bōt = reparation.

34. THE SERVICES DUE FROM VARIOUS PERSONS IN CANUTE'S REIGN [*circa* A.D. 1030]

SOURCE: *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, translated from the Latin version in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes.*

The *Thegn's* [1] law is that he do three things for his estate. Military Service, the repair of fortifications and bridge building. Also on many estates more land-duty is forthcoming at the king's command, for example deer-hedging at the royal palace . . . and many other things.

The *Geneat's* [2] services are many and various according as they are fixed on the estate. On some he must pay rent and a grass-swine [3] every year, ride, carry, and lead loads, work and support his lord, reap and mow, cut the deer-hedge, and keep it firm . . . and carry messages far and near whenever he may be ordered.

The *Cottar's* [4] duty is what is fixed on the estate. On some estates he must work for his lord every Monday in the year and three days a week in harvest. On others he must work every day through the whole of August and must mow an acre of oats in a day. He ought not to pay rent. He should have five acres in his holding, more if it is the custom on the estate, and if it were any less in extent, it is too little because his work is often required. He must pay his hearth penny on Holy Thursday as every free man ought to do.

The *Gebur's* [5] services are manifold, in some places heavy, in others moderate. On some estates he must work at week-work at such work as is required from him every week throughout the year and at harvest three days for week-work and from Candlemas [6] to Easter thrice.

If his horse is being employed on behalf of his lord, he need not work whilst his horse is away. On Michaelmas [7]

[1] Noble.
[2] Retainer.
[3] Payment for putting swine to pasture.
[4] Cottager.
[5] Tenant farmer.
[6] Feb. 2nd.
[7] Sept. 29th.

day he must pay ten pence rent and on Martinmas [1] twenty-three, a sester [2] of barley and two hens; at Easter a young sheep or two pence.

As often as it shall fall to his lot, he shall lie from Martinmas to Easter at the lord's fold. From the time when ploughing first begins until Martinmas he shall plough one acre every week and shall himself prepare the seed in his lord's barn. . . . And every gebur shall give six loaves to the swine-herd when he drives his herd to pasture. Wherever this is the custom, it is the rule that the gebur must have for the stocking of his land two oxen, and one cow, six sheep, and seven acres sown on his yardland. But after that year let him do every duty that pertains to him; and let implements be given him for his work and furniture for his house. On his death, his lord may claim everything.

This custom exists on some estates, but as has been said before, in some places the custom presses more heavily, in others more lightly, since all land customs are not alike. On some land the gebur shall pay honey-rent, on some meat-rent, on some ale-rent. It behoves him who holds the office of steward to see that he always knows what are the conditions belonging to a particular estate or what is the custom of the people.

The *Beekeeper*, if he hold a swarm of bees, etc. must pay according to the custom of the estate. In some places it is laid down that he pay five sesters [3] of honey as rent. . . .

The Swineherd paying pig-rent must supply his pigs for slaughter according to the custom of the locality. In many places it is decreed that every year he shall give fifteen pigs for killing, ten old and five young; he himself may keep what he has over and above this number.

The Swine-herd who looks after the herd of pigs belonging

[1] The feast of St. Martin, Nov. 11th.
[2] Probably about 8 bushels.
[3] A liquid measure for beer, wine, etc., probably about a pint.

to the lord and is only a slave may have the sty-pig and its pluck when he has carefully prepared the bacon and any other rights which by law pertain to slaves.

A *Slave woman* is entitled to eight pounds of corn for food, one sheep or three pennies for winter food, one sester of beans for lenten fare, and in summer whey or one penny.

All *Slaves* are entitled to a Christmas feast and an Easter feast, and in harvest a handful of corn besides their dues.

The *Sowers* shall have one basketful of every kind of seed when he has sown all the seed well for a year.

The *Oxherd* is permitted to pasture two oxen or more with the herd belonging to his lord on the common with the sanction of his overseer. . . .

The *Cowherd* may have the milk of a cow for seven nights after she has calved.

The *Shepherd's* due is that he may have twelve nights manure at Christmas and one lamb and the fleece of a bell-wether and the milk of his flock for seven nights before the autumnal Equinox and throughout the Summer a cupful of buttermilk.

The *Goatherd* claims the milk of his flock after Martinmas day and previous to that his share of buttermilk and a yearling kid if he looks after his flock well.

The *Cheesemaker's* due is one hundred cheeses and to make butter for the lord's table she may have all the buttermilk except the shepherd's share.

The *Barn-man* is entitled to whatever corn falls at the door of the barn in harvest if his overseer grants it to him and he faithfully deserves it.

The *Beadle's* due is that he is on account of his office freer of work than other men; because he must be more often available. He is entitled to some piece of land for his work.

The *Woodward* is entitled to every tree blown down by the wind.

The *Hayward's* due is that he be rewarded in that part of

the land adjoining the meadow; because he ought to know that if he does not guard this, any damage will be imputed to him. And if any portion of land is given him, according to public law it ought to be adjoining the meadow-land, so that in the event of cattle breaking through owing to his own carelessness his own land will be the first to suffer.

The laws and customs of estates are many and various as we have said before, and we do not lay down a general rule; but we note what is the custom in certain districts. If better customs are brought to our notice we will gladly approve and endeavour to hold by the customs of the people amongst whom we are then living.

For a man who does not wish to be without honour in a district must willingly embrace the laws of its inhabitants. In some places, for instance, there is a feast at Christmas, at Easter, a feast for harvest, a drinking feast for ploughing . . . and many other things.

35. ANGLO-SAXON LAW

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Law*, by Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart. (*Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History*, Vol. I).

We collect from the general tenor of the Anglo-Saxon laws that the evils most frequently calling for remedy were manslaying, wounding, and cattle-stealing; it is obvious enough that the latter, when followed by pursuit in hot blood, was a natural and prolific source of the two former. The rules dealing with such wrongs or crimes (for archaic laws draw no firm line between public offence and private injury) present a strange contrast of crude ideas and minute specification, as it appears at first sight. Both are, however, really due to similar conditions. A society which is incapable of refined conceptions, but is advanced enough to require equal rules of some kind and to limit the ordinary power of

its rulers, is likewise incapable of leaving any play for judicial discretion. Anglo-Saxon courts had not the means of apportioning punishment to guilt in the particular case, or assessing compensation according to the actual damage, any more than of deciding on the merits of conflicting claims according to the evidence. Thus the only way remaining open was to fix an equivalent in money or in kind for each particular injury: so much for life and so much for every limb and member of the human body. The same thing occurs with even greater profusion of detail in the other Germanic compilations of the Dark Ages. In the latter days of Anglo-Saxon monarchy treason was added to the rude catalogue of crimes, under continental influence ultimately derived from Roman law; but the sin of plotting against the sovereign was the more readily conceived as heinous above all others by reason of the ancient Germanic principle of faith between a lord and his men. This prominence of the personal relation explains why down to quite modern times the murder of a husband by his wife, of a master by his servant, and of an ecclesiastical superior by a clerk, secular or regular, owing him obedience, were specially classed as "petit treason," and distinguished from murder in general.

Secret murder, as opposed to open slaying, was treated with special severity. This throws no light on our later criminal law; nor has it much to do with love of a fair fight, though this may have strengthened the feeling; rather it goes back to a time when witchcraft, and poisoning as presumably connected therewith, were believed to be unavoidable by ordinary caution, and regarded with a supernatural horror which is still easy to observe among barbarous people. With these exceptions, and a few later ones of offences reserved for the king's jurisdiction, crimes were not classified or distinguished in Anglo-Saxon custom save by the amount of public fine and private composition

required to redeem the wrong-doer's life in each case. Capital punishment and money payment, or rather liability to the blood-feud redeemable by money payment, and slavery for a thief who could not make the proper fine, were the only means of compulsion generally applicable, though false accusers and some other infamous persons were liable to corporal penalties. Imprisonment is not heard of as a substantive punishment; and it is needless to say that nothing like a system of penal discipline was known. We cannot doubt that a large number of offences, even notorious ones, went unpunished. The more skilled and subtle attacks on property, such as forgery and allied kinds of fraud, did not occur, not because men were more honest, but because fraudulent documents could not be invented or employed in a society which knew nothing of credit, and did not use writing for any common business of life.

36. THE KING'S PEACE

SOURCE: *The Constitutional History of England*, by F. W. Maitland.

The idea of law is from the first very closely connected with the idea of peace—he who breaks the peace, puts himself outside the law, he is outlaw. But besides the general peace which exists at all times and in all places, and which, according to ancient ideas, is the peace of the nation rather than of the king, every man has his own special peace, and if you break that you injure him. Thus, if you slay A in B's house, not only must you pay A's price or wergild to his kinsfolk, but you have broken B's peace and you will owe B a sum of money, the amount of which will vary with B's rank—you have broken B's peace or *mund*; the *mund* of an archbishop is worth so much, that of an ealdorman so much, and so forth. Like other men the king has his peace. In course of time, we may

say, the king's peace devours all other peaces—but that has not been effected until near the end of the twelfth century.

ENGLAND UNDER THE NORMANS

37. NOTES ON AGRICULTURE IN THE 11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Giles).

1. *High Price of Corn*

(*a*) In this same year the "sester" [1] of wheat went to fifty-five pence, and even further. (A.D. 1031.)

(*b*) In this year there was a very great famine over all England, and corn so dear as no man before remembered, so that the "sester" of wheat went to sixty pence, and even further. (A.D. 1043.)

(*c*) In this same year were many failures in England, in corn and all fruits, so that between Christmas and Candlemas (February 2nd) the acre seed of wheat, that is, two seedlips,[2] were sold for six shillings; and that of barley, that is, three seedlips, for six shillings; and the acre seed of oats, that is, four seedlips, for four shillings. That was because there was little corn, and the penny was so bad that the man who had at a market a pound could by no means buy therewith twelve pennyworths. (A.D. 1124.)

2. *Failure of Crops*

(*a*) And all that year it was very sad in many and various things, both in tempests and earth fruits. And so much cattle perished in this year as no man before remembered, both through various diseases and through bad weather. (A.D. 1041.)

[1] Probably about 8 bushels.

[2] The basket containing the seed when sowing by hand.

(*b*) And the same year was a very heavy, and toilsome, and sorrowful year in England, through murrain of cattle, and corn and fruits were at a stand, and so great unpropitiousness in weather, as no one can easily think, so great was the thunder and lightning, that it killed many men and ever it grew worse with men more and more. May Almighty God better it, when it shall be His will.

After the birth-tide of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand and seven and eighty winters, in the one and twentieth year after William ruled and held despotic sway over England, as God had granted him there was a very heavy and very pestilent year in this land. Such a malady came on men that almost every other man was in the worst evil, that is with fever, and that so strongly that many men died of the evil. Afterwards there came, through the great tempests which came as we have before told, a very great famine over all England, so that many hundred men perished by death through that famine. Alas! how miserable and how rueful a time was then! When the wretched men lay driven almost to death, and afterwards came the sharp famine and quite destroyed them. Who cannot feel pity for such a time? or who is so hard-hearted that cannot bewail such misfortune? But such things befal for a folk's sins, because they will not love God and righteousness, so as it was in those days, that little righteousness was in this land with any man, save with the monks alone, wherever they fared well. The king and the head men loved much, and over much, covetousness in gold and in silver, and recked not how sinfully it might be got, provided it came to them. The king gave his land as dearly for rent as he possibly could, then came some other and bade more than the other had before given, and the king let it to the man who had bidden him more, then came a third and bade yet more, and the king gave it up to the man who had bidden most of all. And he recked not how very sinfully the reeves got it from

poor men, nor how many illegalities they did, but the more that was said about right law, the more illegalities were done. They levied unjust tolls, and many other unjust things they did, which are difficult to reckon. Also, in the same year, before autumn, the holy monastery of St Paul, the episcopal see of London, was burnt, and many other monasteries, and the greatest and fairest part of the whole city. So also, at the same time, almost every chief town in all England was burnt. Alas! a rueful and deplorable time was it in that year, which brought forth so many misfortunes. . . . (A.D. 1086.)

(*c*) This was a very calamitous year in the land, through manifold imposts, and through murrain[1] of cattle, and perishing of fruits both in corn and also in all tree fruits. (A.D. 1103.)

(*d*) In this year was a very long and sad and severe winter; and thereby were the earth-fruits greatly injured; and there was the greatest murrain of cattle that any man could remember. (A.D. 1111.)

(*e*) This was a very good year and very abundant in wood and in field; but it was a very sad and sorrowful one, through a most destructive pestilence. (A.D. 1112.)

38. CURIOUS NATURAL PHENOMENA IN THE 11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Giles).

1. *Earthquakes*

(*a*) In this year there was a great earthquake widely throughout England. (A.D. 1048.)

(*b*) In this year was also an earthquake on the Kal. of May [May 1st], in many places, at Worcester, at Wick, and at Derby and elsewhere; and there was also a great mortality

[1] Cattle plague.

among men, and a murrain among cattle; and the wildfire[1] also did much evil in Derbyshire and elsewhere. (A.D. 1049.)

(*c*) There happened over all England a great earthquake, on the day the IIIrd of the Ides of August [August 11th]. And it was a very backward year in corn and fruits of all kinds; so that many men reaped their corn about Martinmas [November 11th] and yet later. (A.D. 1089.)

2. *Severe Winters*

In this same year, after Candlemas, [February 2nd], came the severe winter, with frost and snow, and with all kinds of bad weather, so that there was no man alive who could remember so severe a winter as that was, both through mortality of men and murrain of cattle: both birds and fishes perished through the great cold and hunger. (A.D. 1046.)

3. *High Winds*

(*a*) In this year was the great wind. (A.D. 1039.)

(*b*) In this year was the great wind on Thomas' mass-night [December 21st]; and also all the midwinter there was much wind. (A.D. 1053.)

(*c*) Also in the morning on the mass day of St Laurence [August 10th] the wind did so great harm here in the country to all fruits, as no man remembered that it ever did before. (A.D. 1103.)

(*d*) In this year were very great winds in the month of October; but it was excessively great in the night of the octave of St Martin [November 18th], and that was everywhere manifest in woods and towns. (A.D. 1114.)

4. *Comets*

(*a*) Then was seen over all England such a sight in the heavens as no man ever saw before. Some men said that it

[1] A disease affecting sheep.

was the star Cometa, which some men call the haired star; and it first appeared on the eve of Litania Major, the VIII of the Kal. of May [April 24th] and so shone all the seven nights. (A.D. 1065.)

(*b*) Then on St Michael's mass the IVth of the Nones of October [October 4th] there appeared an extraordinary star, shining in the evening, and soon going to its setting. It was seen in the south-west, and the ray that stood from it seemed very long, shining south-east; and almost all the week it appeared in this wise. Many men supposed that it was a "comet." (A.D. 1097.)

39. HOW ENGLAND FARED UNDER WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

SOURCE: Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, VI (Forester).

In the twenty-first year of the reign of King William, when the Normans had accomplished the righteous will of God on the English nation, and there was no prince of the ancient royal race living in England, and all the English were brought to a reluctant submission, so that it was a disgrace even to be called an Englishman, the instrument of Providence in fulfilling its designs was removed from the world. God had chosen the Normans to humble the English nation, because He perceived that they were more fierce than any other people. For their character is such that when they have so crushed their enemies that they can reduce them no longer, they bring themselves and their own lands to poverty and waste; so that the Norman lords, when foreign hostilities have ceased, as their fierce temper never abates, turn their hostilities against their own people. . . .

In England, at this time, extortionate tolls and most bothersome taxes were multiplied, and all the great lords were so blinded by an inordinate desire of amassing wealth, that it might be truly said of them, "Whence it was got no

one asked, but get it they must; the more they talked of right, the more wrong they did." Those whose title was justiciaries were the fountain of all injustice. The sheriffs and judges, whose office it was to administer the law, were more greedy than thieves and robbers, and more violent than the most desperate culprits. The king himself, when he had let his lands to farm at the dearest rates he could, broke his agreements, and, never satisfied, granted them to anyone who bid higher, and then to another who offered the highest rent; nor did he care what injury his officers inflicted on the poor. . . .

William was the most valiant of all the dukes of Normandy, the most powerful of all the kings of England, more renowned than any of his predecessors. He was wise, but crafty; rich, but covetous; glorious, but his ambition was never satisfied. Though humble to the servants of God, he was obdurate to those who withstood him. Earls and nobles he threw into prison, bishops and abbots he deprived of their possessions; he did not even spare his own brother; and no one dared to oppose his will. He wrung thousands of gold and silver from his most powerful vassals, and harassed his subjects with the toil of building castles for himself. If anyone killed a stag or a wild boar, his eyes were put out, and no one presumed to complain. But beasts of chase he cherished as if they were his children; so that to form the hunting ground of the New Forest he caused churches and villages to be destroyed, and, driving out the people, made it an habitation for deer. When he plundered his subjects, not urged by his wants, but by excessive avarice, however they might curse him in the bitterness of their hearts, he set at naught their muttered revenge. It behoved every one to submit to his will who had any regard for his favour, or for his own money or lands, or even his life. . . .

He was monarch of all England so that there was not a single hide of land in it of which he had not an account of

the owner's name and what it was worth [Domesday Book]. . . . Yet he so firmly preserved the peace, that a girl laden with gold could pass in safety from one end of England to the other. Homicide under whatever pretext was punished by death ; violent assaults, by the loss of limbs.

40. THE NEW FOREST [A.D. 1070]

SOURCE : Holinshed, *Chronicle*, II.

Whereupon greater burdens were laid upon the English, insomuch that after they had been robbed and spoiled of their goods, they were also debarred of their accustomed games and pastimes. For where naturally (as they do unto this day) they took great pleasure in hunting of deer, both red and fallow, in the woods and forests about without restraint, King William seizing the most part of the same forests into his own hands, appointed a punishment, to be executed upon all such offenders : namely, to have their eyes put out. And to bring the greater number of men in danger of those his penal laws (a pestilent policy of a spiteful mind and savouring altogether of his French slavery) he devised means how to breed, nourish and increase the multitude of deer, and also to make room for them in that part of the realm which lieth between Salisbury and the sea southward : he pulled down towns, villages and churches and other buildings for the space of 30 miles to make thereof a forest, which at this day is called the New Forest. The people as then sore bewailed their distress, and greatly lamented that they must leave house and home to the use of savage beasts.

41. DOMESDAY BOOK [A.D. 1086]

(*a*) INSTRUCTIONS FOR TAKING THE SURVEY

SOURCE : *Inquisitio Eliensis, Domesday Book : Additamenta.*

. . . The King's barons enquire by oath of the sheriff of each shire and of all the barons of the French-born of them

and of the whole hundred, of the priests, the reeve, and six villeins [1] from each town . . . the name of the manor, who held it in the time of King Edward the Confessor and who held it now [1086], how many hides [2] there were in each manor, how many ploughs on the domain, how many men, how many villeins, how many cottars, how many bondsmen, how many freemen, how many soc-men,[3] how much wood, how much meadow, how much pasture; what mills, what fish or ponds; what had been added or taken away, what it was worth in the time of King Edward the Confessor, and how much it was worth now; how much each free-holder held; and whether more could be got out of it than now.

(*b*) THE CLOSENESS OF THE SURVEY

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 1083 (Thorpe, Vol. II.)

After this the king had a great council, and very deep speech with his "witan"[4] about this land, how it was peopled, or by what men; then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what land the king himself had and cattle within the land, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also, he caused to be written how much land his archbishop had, and his suffragan bishops, and his abbots and his earls; and—though I may narrate somewhat prolixly—what or how much each man had who was a holder of land in England or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard of land, nor even—it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do—an ox, nor cow, nor a

[1] Feudal tenant.
[2] Approximately 100 acres.
[3] One who held land by virtue of service in the lord's court or soke.
[4] Wise men.

swine was left, that was not set down in his writ. And all the writings were brought to him afterwards.

42. THE CURFEW BELL [A.D. 1068]

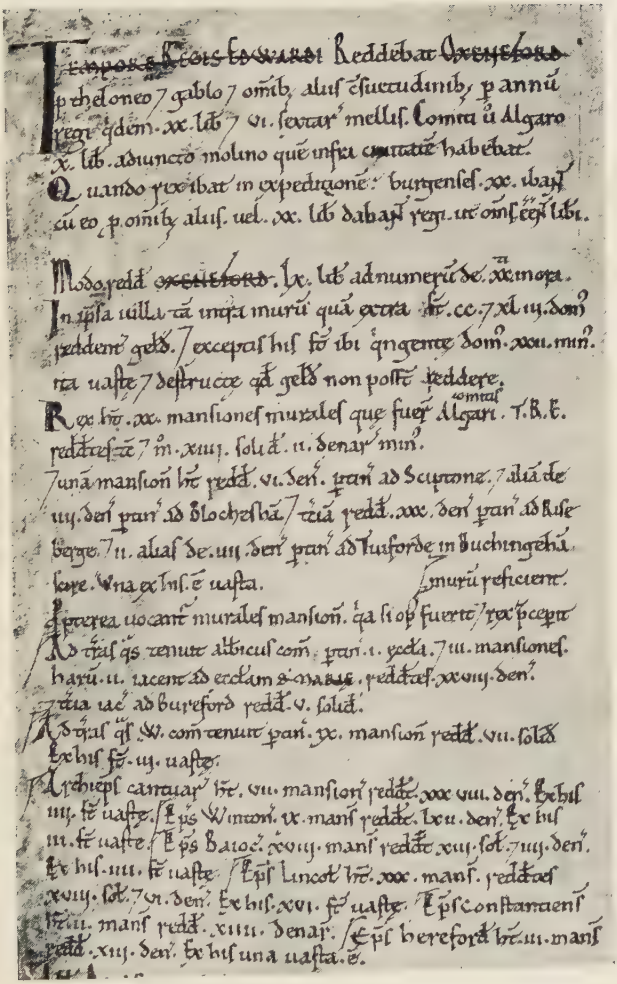
SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, II.

Moreover to reduce the English people the more unto obedience and awe, he [William the Conqueror] took from them all their armour and weapons. He ordained also that the master of every household about eight of the clock in the evening, should cause his fire to be raked up in ashes, his lights to be put out; and then go to bed. Besides this, to the end that every man might have knowledge of the hour to go to rest, he gave order, that in all cities, towns and villages, where any church was, there should a bell be rung at the said hour, which custom is still used even unto this day, and commonly called by the French word, "Couvre feu," that is, "Rake up the fire."

43. RESULTS OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, III (Giles).

This was a fatal day to England, a melancholy hour of our dear country, through its change of masters. For it had long since adopted the manners of the Angles, which had been very various according to the times: for in the first years of their arrival, they were barbarians in their look and manners, warlike in their usages, heathens in their rites; but, after embracing the faith of Christ, by degrees, and in process of time, from the peace they enjoyed, regarding arms only in a secondary light, they gave their whole attention to religion. I say nothing of the poor, the meanness of whose fortune often restrains them from overstepping the bounds of justice: I omit men of ecclesiastical rank, whom sometimes respect to their profession, and sometimes



Portion of Domesday Book

The White Tower

St John's Chapel in the Tower of London

the fear of shame, suffer not to deviate from the truths: I speak of princes, who from the greatness of their power might have full liberty to indulge in pleasure; some of whom, in their own country, and others at Rome, changing their habit, obtained a heavenly kingdom, and a saintly intercourse. Many during their whole lives in outward appearance only embraced the present world, in order that they might exhaust their treasures on the poor, or divide them amongst monasteries. What shall I say of the multitudes of bishops, hermits and abbots? Does not the whole island blaze with such numerous relics of its natives, that you can scarcely pass a village of any consequence but you hear the name of some new saint, besides the numbers of whom all notices have perished through the want of records? Nevertheless, in process of time, the desire after literature and religion had decayed for several years before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a very slight degree of learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments; and a person who understood grammar, was an object of wonder and astonishment. The monks mocked the rule of their order by fine vestments, and the use of every kind of food. The nobility, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning after the manner of Christians, but merely, in a careless manner, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their chambers. The commonality, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes by either seizing on their property, or by selling their persons into foreign countries; although it be an innate quality of this people to be more inclined to revelling than to the accumulation of wealth. Drinking in parties was a universal practice, in which occupation they passed entire nights as well as days. They consumed their whole substance in mean and despicable houses; unlike the Normans and French, who, in noble and splendid mansions, lived with frugality. The

vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervates the human mind, followed; hence it arose that engaging William, more with rashness and precipitate fury than military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery, by one, and that, an easy victory. "For nothing is less effective than rashness; and what begins with violence, quickly ceases, or is repelled." In fine, the English at that time wore short garments reaching to the mid-knee; they had their hair cropped; their beards shaven; their arms laden with golden bracelets; their skin adorned with punctured designs. They were accustomed to eat till they became surfeited, and to drink till they were sick. These latter qualities they imparted to their conquerors; as to the rest they adopted their manners. I would not, however, have these bad propensities universally ascribed to the English. I know that many of the clergy, at that day, trod the path of sanctity, by a blameless life; I know that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, in this nation were well-pleasing to God.

Moreover, the Normans, that I may speak of them also, were at that time, and are even now, proudly apparelled, delicate in their food, but not excessive. They are a race inured to war and can hardly live without it; fierce in rushing against the enemy; and where strength fails, ready to use stratagem or to corrupt by bribery. As I have related, they live in large edifices with economy; envy their equals; wish to excel their superiors; and plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others; they are faithful to their lords, though a slight offence renders them perfidious. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments with money. They are, however, the kindest of nations, and they esteem strangers worthy of equal honour with themselves. They also intermarry with their vassals. They revived by their arrival the observances of religion which were everywhere grown lifeless in England. You

might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated sites; so that each wealthy man accounted that day lost to him which he had neglected to signalise by some magnificent action.

44. A PICTURE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR [A.D. 1087]

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Thorpe).

If any one desires to know what kind of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he was lord, then we will write of him so as we understand him who have looked on him, and at another time, sojourned in his court. The King William, about whom we speak, was a very wise man, and very powerful, more dignified and strong than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good man who loved God; and over all measure severe to the men who gainsayed his will. On that same stead, on which God granted him that he might subdue England, he reared a noble monastery, and there placed monks, and well endowed it. In his days was the noble monastery at Canterbury built, and also very many others over all England. This land was also plentifully supplied with monks, and they lived their lives after the rule of St Benedict. And in his day Christianity was such that every man who would, followed what belonged to his condition. He was also very dignified, thrice every year he bare his crown, as oft as he was in England. At Easter he bare it in Winchester, at Pentecost in Westminster, at Midwinter in Gloucester. And then were with him all the great men over all England, archbishops and suffragan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. So also was he a very rigid and cruel man, so that no one durst do anything against his will. He had

earls in his bonds, who had acted against his will, bishops he cast from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thanes into prison, and at last he spared not his own brother named Odo: he was a very rich bishop in Normandy, at Bayeux was his episcopal see, and he was the foremost man besides the king, and he had an earldom in England, and when the king was in Normandy, then was he the most powerful in this land: and him he set in prison. Among other things is not to be forgotten the good peace that he made in this land, so that a man who had any confidence in himself might go over his realm, with his bosom full of gold, unhurt. Nor durst any man slay another man, had he done ever so great evil to the other. . . .

He reigned over England, and by his sagacity so thoroughly surveyed it, that there was not a hide of land within England that he knew not who had it, or what it was worth, and afterwards set it in his writ. Brytland [Wales] was in his power, and he therein wrought castles, and completely ruled over that race of men. In like manner he also subjected Scotland to him by his great strength. The land of Normandy was naturally his, and over the county which is called De Maine he reigned, and if he might yet have lived two years he would, by his valour, have won Ireland, and without any weapons. Certainly in his time men had great hardship and very many injuries. Castles he caused to be made, and poor men to be greatly oppressed. The king was so very rigid, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver, which he took, by right and with great unright, from his people, for little need. He had fallen into covetousness, and altogether loved greediness. He planted a great preserve for deer, and he laid down laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind should be blinded. He forbade the harts and also the boars to be killed. As greatly did he love the tall deer as if he were their father. He also ordained con-

cerning the hares, that they should go free. His great men bewailed it, and the poor men murmured thereat, but he was so obdurate, that he reeked not of the hatred of them all; but they must wholly follow the king's will, if they would live, or have land, or property, or even his peace. Alas! that any man should be so proud, so raise himself up, and account himself above all men! May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins! These things we have written concerning him, both good and evil, that good men may imitate their goodness, and wholly flee from the evil, and go in the way that leads us to the kingdom of heaven.

45. COURT LIFE—WILLIAM II.'s TIME [A.D. 1098]

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, IV, 1 (Giles).

The sacred honours of the church, as the pastors died, were exposed to sale: for whenever the death of any bishop or abbot was announced, directly one of the king's clerks was admitted, who made an inventory of everything, and carried all future rents into the royal exchequer. In the meantime, some person was sought out fit to supply the place of the deceased; not from proof of morals, but of money; and at last, if I may so say, the empty honour was conferred, and even that purchased, at a great price. These things appeared the more disgraceful, because, in his father's time, after the decease of a bishop or abbot, all rents were reserved entire, to be given up to the succeeding pastor; and persons truly meritorious, on account of their religion were elected. But in the lapse of a very few years, everything was changed. There was no man rich except the money-changer; no clerk, unless he was a lawyer; no priest, unless he was a farmer. Men of the meanest condition or guilty of whatever crime, were listened to, if they

could suggest anything likely to be advantageous to the king; the halter was loosened from the robber's neck, if he could promise any emolument to the sovereign. All military discipline being relaxed, the courtiers preyed upon the property of the country people, and consumed their substance, taking the very meat from the mouths of these wretched creatures. Then was there flowing hair and extravagant dress; and then was invented the fashion of shoes with curved points; then the model for young men was to rival women in delicacy of person and to mince their gait.

46. THE EFFECT OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT [A.D. 1096]

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, IV, II (Giles).

This ardent love not only inspired the continental provinces, but even all who had heard the name of Christ, whether in the most distant islands, or savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting; the Scot his fellowship with vermin; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish. Lands were deserted of their husbandmen; houses of their inhabitants, even whole cities migrated. There was no regard to relationship, affection to their country was held in little esteem; God alone was placed before their eyes. Whatever was stored in granaries or hoarded in chamber, to answer to the hopes of the avaricious husbandman, or the covetousness of the miser, all, all was deserted; they hungered and thirsted after Jerusalem alone. Joy attended such as proceeded; while grief oppressed those who remained. But why do I say remained? You might see the husband departing with his wife, indeed, with all his family, you would smile to see the whole household laden on a carriage, about to proceed on their journey. The road was too narrow for the passengers, the path too confined for the

travellers, so thickly were they thronged with endless multitudes. The number surpassed all human imagination, though the itinerants were estimated at six millions.[1]

47. NORMAN MEAL TIMES

SOURCE: Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, IV (Forester).

Such was his [Hardecanute's] liberality that tables were laid four times a day with royal sumptuousness for his whole court, preferring the fragments of the repast should be removed after those invited were satisfied, than that such fragments should be served up for the entertainment of those who were not invited. In our time it is the custom whether from parsimony, or, as they themselves say from fastidiousness, for princes to provide only one meal-day for their court.

48. SOME REGULATIONS AFFECTING PRIESTS [A.D. 1102]

SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicles*, Vol. II.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, held a council at Westminster. . . . Divers constitutions were made by authority of this council. . . .

(1) That priests should no more be suffered to have wives. . . .

(2) That no spiritual person should have the administration of any temporal office or function, nor sit in judgment of life and death.

(3) That priests should not haunt ale houses, and further, that they should wear apparel of one manner of colour, and shoes after a comely fashion: for a little before that time, priests used to go very unseemly.

(4) That no archdeanconries should be let to farm.

[1] Like most medieval computations this figure is absurd, and indeed the whole passage is piously exaggerated.

(7) That no priests' sons should succeed their fathers in their benefices.

(10) That no tithes should be given but to the church.

(11) That no benefices should be bought or sold.

(14) That abbots should not be made knights or men of war, but should sleep and eat within the precinct of their own house. . . .

(16) That no monks should be godfathers, nor nuns godmothers to any man's child.

(19) That contracts made between man and woman without witnesses concerning marriage should be void if either of them denied it.

(20) That such as did wear their hair long should be nevertheless so rounded, that part of their ears might appear.

(22) That the bodies of the dead should not be buried but within their parishes.

(24) That there should be no more buying and selling of men used in England, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had been kine or oxen.

49. A MINIATURE ZOO [A.D. 1119]

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, V (Giles).

Paul, Earl of Orkney, though subject by hereditary right to the King of Norway, was so anxious to obtain the king's [Henry I.'s] friendship, that he was perpetually sending him presents; for he was extremely fond of the wonders of distant countries, begging with great delight, as I have observed, from foreign kings, lions, leopards, lynxes or camels—animals which England does not produce. He had a park called Woodstock, in which he used to foster his favourites of this kind. He had placed there also a creature called a porcupine, sent to him by William of Montpelier, of which animal, Pliny the Elder, in the eighth book of his

Natural History, and Isodorus, on Etymologies, relate that there is such a creature in Africa, which the inhabitants call of the urchin kind, covered with bristly hair, which it naturally darts against the dogs when pursuing it; moreover these are, as I have seen, more than a span long, sharp at each extremity, like the quills of a goose where the feather ceases, but rather thicker, and speckled, as it were, with black and white.

50. COURT FASHIONS IN HENRY I.'s REIGN

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, V (Giles).

In his twenty-eighth year, the king [Henry I.] returned from Normandy; in his twenty-ninth, a circumstance occurred in England which may seem surprising to our long-haired gallants, who, forgetting what they were born, transform themselves into the fashion of females, by the length of their locks. A certain English knight, who prided himself on the luxuriousness of his tresses, being stung by conscience on the subject, seemed to feel in a dream as though some person strangled him with his ringlets. Awaking in a fright, he immediately cut off his superfluous hair. The example spread throughout England; and, as scant punishment is apt to affect the mind, almost all military men allowed their hair to be cropped in a proper manner, without reluctance. But this decency was not of long continuance, for scarcely had a year expired ere all who thought themselves courtly, relapsed into their former style; they vied with women in the length of locks, and wherein they were defective, put on false tresses; forgetful, or rather ignorant, of the saying of the apostle, "If a man nurture his hair, it is shame to him."

51. BRITAIN IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

SOURCE: *Henry of Huntingdon*, I (Forester).

Britain is truly an island of the utmost fertility, abounding in corn and fruit trees, which are nourished by perennial streams. It is diversified by woods, sheltering birds and beasts of chase, affording merry sport to the hunter. Wild fowl of all sorts are exceedingly plentiful, both those which frequent the water, whether the rivers or the sea. Moreover the island is remarkably adapted for feeding cattle and beasts of burthen; insomuch that Solinus remarks that "in some parts of Britain the herbage of the meadows is so luxuriant that unless the cattle are shifted to poorer pasture there is risk of their suffering from surfeit." The never failing springs feed rivers abounding in fish. Salmon and eels, especially are very plentiful. Herrings are taken on the coasts, as well as oysters and other kinds of shell fish. Among these are the muscles, which produce beautiful pearls, of a great variety of colours, red, purple, violet and emerald; principally, however, white. Nor are the cockles wanting from which a scarlet dye is made, whose exquisite tint does not fade by exposure either to the sun or rain, the older it is the brighter the colour becomes. Dolphins and whales are also caught, as Juvenal says:

> "For as the giant whales of Britain's sea
> Exceed the dolphin."

Britain is also rich in metallic veins of iron, tin, and lead. Some of these contain silver also, though not so commonly; silver, however, is received from the neighbouring parts of Germany, with which an extensive commerce is carried on by the Rhine in the abundant produce of fish and meat, as well as of fine wool and fat cattle which Britain supplies, so that money appears to be more plentiful there than in Germany itself, and all the coins introduced into Britain

by this traffic are of pure silver. Britain, also, furnishes large quantities of very excellent jet, of a black and brilliant hue. Rendered sparkling by fire it drives away serpents; when it becomes heated by friction substances adhere to it, as they do to amber. The island contains both salt-springs and hot-springs and the streams from which supply baths accommodated to the separate use of persons of every age and of both sexes. . . . "For water," as St Basil observes, "acquires the quality of heat by running over certain metals, so that not only it becomes warm, but even scalding hot." . . .

The cities . . . have for their sites pleasant and fertile banks of rivers. Two of these rivers are more celebrated than the rest, the Thames and the Severn; the two arms, as it were, of Britain, by which it draws to itself the produce of other countries and exports its own. But it is peculiar to the English that, being much addicted to foreign travel, they are remarkable for their superior style of dress and living, by which they are easily distinguished from other nations. Since, then, Britain abounds in so many things (even vineyards flourish in it, though they are not common), those who covet its wealth must bring their own in exchange for what they receive. In whose praise someone thus wrote:

> "Corn, milk and honey, fuller shed their stores
> On Britain's plains, than over all the isles
> Where foaming ocean washes sea-girt shores."

And a little afterwards:

> "London for ships, and Winchester for wine,
> Hereford for herds, Worcester for corn renown'd,
> Bath for its waters, Salisbury for the chase;
> For fishes Canterbury: York for its woods;
> Exeter boasts its rich metallic ores.
> Narrow the sea 'tween Chichester and France,
> While northern Durham fronts the surging waves
> On which old Norway launch'd her conq'ring sons

In grace proud Lincoln's children foremost stand,
Ely's high tow'rs the wide champaign command,
Rochester rises bright on Medway's winding strand."

Nor must it be omitted that the climate of Britain is very temperate and healthy to its inhabitants. . . .

There are four things in England which are very remarkable. One is that the winds issue with such great violence from certain caverns in a mountain called the Peak, that it ejects matters thrown into them, and whirling them about in the air carries them to a great distance. The second is Stonehenge, where stones of extraordinary dimensions are raised as columns, and others are fixed above, like lintels of immense portals; and no one has been able to discover by what mechanism such vast masses of stone were elevated, nor for what purpose they were designed. The third is at Cheddor-hole,[1] where there is a cavern which many persons have entered, and have traversed a great distance underground, crossing subterraneous streams, without finding any end of the cavern. The fourth wonder is this, that in some parts of the country the rain is seen to gather about the tops of the hills, and forthwith to fall on the plains.

52. HOW STEPHEN DEALT WITH HIS TURBULENT BARONS [A.D. 1136]

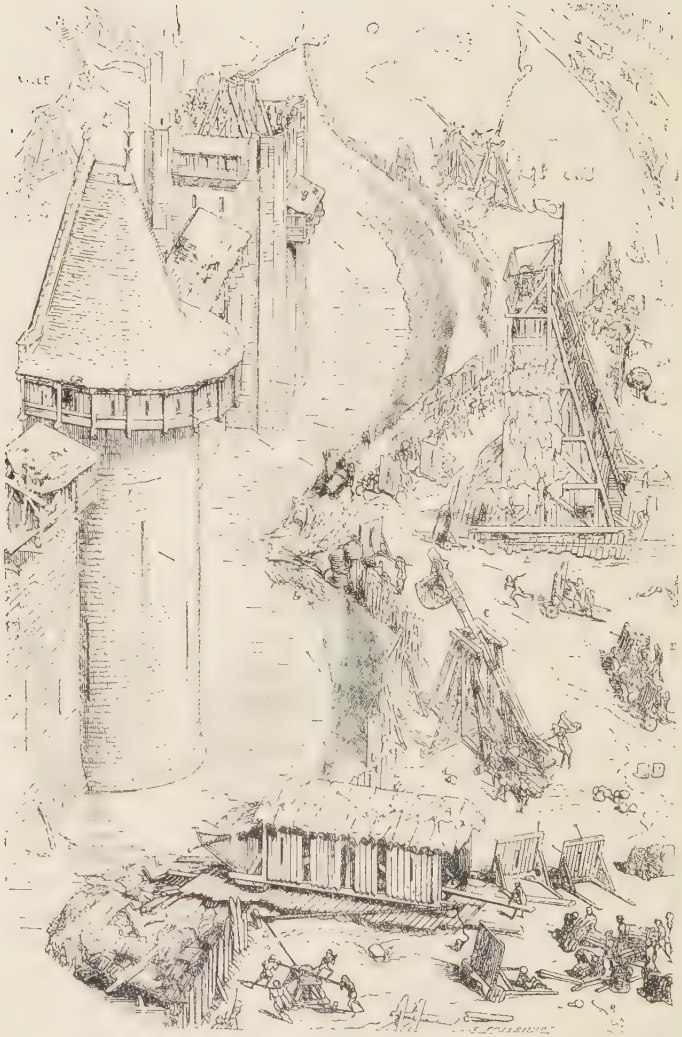
SOURCE: *Acts of King Stephen*, I (Forester).

I

Exeter is a large city, ranking, they say, the fourth in England. It is surrounded by ancient Roman walls, and is famous for its sea fisheries, for abundance of meat, and for its trade and commerce. Its castle stands on a lofty mound protected by impregnable walls, and towers of hewn stone. Baldwin had thrown into it a strong garrison chosen

[1] Wookery Hole in Cheddar Cliffs under the Mendip Hills, Somerset.

"Ely's high towers the wide champaign command"



A Medieval Siege

from the flower of the youth of England, who were bound by oaths to resist the king to the last extremity. Baldwin himself, with his wife and sons, shut himself up in the citadel, prepared for the worst; and the garrison, manning the battlements and towers with glittering arms, taunted the king and his followers as they approached the walls. Sometimes they made unexpected sallies and fell furiously on the royal army; at others they shot arrows and launched missiles against them from above; using all the means in their power to molest the enemy. Meanwhile the king, with his barons, who had accompanied him, and who afterwards gathered their forces and joined his army, made every exertion to press the siege. With a body of foot soldiers heavily armed, he drove the garrison from the outer wall, which was built on a high mound to defend the citadel, and retained possession of it. He also succeeded in breaking down the inner bridge which gave access to the city from the castle, and with surprising address raised lofty wooden towers, from which the defenders of the castle were assailed. Day and night he perseveringly pushed the siege, at one time mounting the hill with his troops, on horseback, and challenging the besieged to the fight, at another causing his slingers to annoy them by hurling stones. He also employed miners to sap the fortifications, and had all manner of machines constructed, some of great height, to overlook what was passing within the garrison, and others on a level with the foundation of the walls which they were intended to batter down. The besieged on their side lost no time in destroying the machines, and all the ingenuity employed in their construction was wasted. Thus the contest was maintained with great vigour and ability on both parts. [The garrison eventually surrendered owing to the water supply failing.]

II

The king raised an army from all parts of England to lay siege to Bedford. Aware of his approach Milo swept off all the provisions he could lay his hands on, making violent seizures both from the townsmen and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood with whom before he had been on good terms, as belonging to his lordship. These supplies he stored in the castle, and securely closing the gates, he for this time excluded the king's people without any loss on his own side, The king, however, after carefully reconnoitring the fortifications, placed under cover bands of archers, at convenient posts, with directions to maintain such a constant discharge of arrows against those who manned the battlements and towers as should prevent their keeping a good look-out and hold them always in a state of confusion. Meanwhile, he exerted all his energies to have engines constructed for filling the trenches and battering the walls. All that skill and ingenuity, labour and expense could compass, was effected. Night watches were posted at all the castle gates to prevent any communication by the besieged to their friends without, or provisions or necessaries being introduced within the fortress. By day, every effort that skill could devise was made to distress and annoy the enemy. But the castle stood on a very high mound, and was surrounded by a solid and lofty wall, and it had a strong and impregnable keep, and contained a numerous garrison of stout and resolute men, so that the expectation of soon taking it proved abortive and the king having other affairs on his hands which required immediate attention, withdrew, leaving the greatest part of his army to carry on the siege. His orders were, that if the engines could not effect the reduction of the place, a blockade should be maintained, till want and hunger compelled its surrender. After the king's departure the besieging army continued their hostilities, till, their provisions

being exhausted and their strength failing, the garrison confessed that they could hold the place no longer. They therefore surrendered it to the king, according to the laws of war.

53. THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND UNDER STEPHEN [A.D. 1141]

SOURCE: *Acts of King Stephen*, II (Forester).

I

At this period England was in a very disturbed state; on the one hand, the king and those who took his part grievously oppressed the people, on the other, frequent turmoils were raised by the Earl of Gloucester; and, what with the tyranny of the one, and the turbulence of the other, there was universal turmoil and desolation. Some for whom their country had lost its charm, chose rather to make their abode in foreign lands; others drew to the churches for protection, and constructing mean hovels in their precincts, passed their days in fear and trouble. Food being scarce, for there was a dreadful famine throughout England, some of the people disgustingly devoured the flesh of dogs and horses; others appeased their insatiable hunger with the garbage of uncooked herbs and roots; many, in all parts, sunk under the severity of the famine and died in heaps; others with their whole families went sorrowfully into voluntary banishment and disappeared. There were seen famous cities deserted and depopulated by the death of their inhabitants of every age and sex, and fields white for the harvest, for it was near the season of autumn, but none to gather it, all having been struck down by the famine. Thus the whole aspect of England presented a scene of calamity and sorrow, misery and oppression. It tended to increase the evil that a crowd of fierce strangers who had flocked to England in

bands to take service in the war, and who were devoid of all bowels of mercy and feelings of humanity, were scattered among the people thus suffering. In all the castles their sole business was to contrive the most flagitious outrages; and the employment on which all the powers of their malicious minds were bent, was to watch every opportunity of plundering the weak, to foment troubles, and to cause bloodshed in every direction. And as the barons who had assembled them from the remotest districts were neither able to discharge their pay out of their own revenues, nor to satisfy their insatiable thirst for plunder, and remunerate themselves by pillage as they had before done, because there was nothing left anywhere whole and undamaged, they had recourse to the possession of the monasteries, or the neighbouring municipalities or any others which they could send forth troops enough to infest. At one time they loaded their victims with false accusations and virulent abuse; at another they ground them down with vexatious claims and extortions; some they stripped of their property, either by open robbery or secret contrivance, and others they reduced to complete subjection in the most shameless manner. If any one of the reverend monks, or of the secular clergy, came to complain of the exactions laid on church property, he was met with abuse, and abruptly silenced with outrageous threats; the servants who attended him on his journey were often severely scourged before his face, and he himself, whatever his rank and order might be, was shamefully stripped of his effects, and even his garments and driven away, or left helpless, from the severe beating to which he was subjected.

II

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II (Thorpe).

They filled the land full of castles—and filled the castles with devils. They took all those that they imagined had

any property, . . . men and women, . . . and tortured them with unutterable torture unspeakable ; many thousands they slew with hunger . . . they robbed and burned all the villages, so that thou mightest fare a day's journey nor ever find a man dwelling in a village nor land tilled. Corn, flesh and cheese, there was none in the land. The bishops were even cursing them, but they cared nought therefor, for they were all forcursed and forsworn and forlorn. . . . Men said openly that Christ slept and His Saints. . . . Such and more than we can say we suffered nineteen winters for our sins.

ENGLAND UNDER THE PLANTAGENETS

54. COURT LIFE IN THE TIME OF HENRY II. [A.D. 1160]

SOURCE : Peter of Blois : *Epistolae* (*Patres Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. Giles, pp. 50 *ff.*).

I often wonder how anyone who has been used to the service of scholarship and the camps of learning can endure the annoyances of a court life. Among courtiers there is no order, no plan, no moderation, either in food, in horse-exercise, or in watchings. A priest or a soldier attached to the court has bread put before him which is not kneaded, nor leavened, made of the dregs of beer ; bread like lead, full of bran and unbaked ; wine spoiled either by being sour or mouldy—thick, greasy, rancid, tasting of pitch and vapid. I have sometimes seen wine so full of dregs put before noblemen that they were compelled rather to filter than drink it, with their eyes shut and teeth closed.

The beer at court is horrid to taste and filthy to look at. On account of the great demand, meat is sold whether it be fresh or not. The fish one buys is four days old, yet the fact that it stinks does not lessen its price. The servants care nothing whatever whether the unlucky guests became

ill or die, provided they load their masters' tables with dishes. Indeed the tables are sometimes filled with putrid food, and were it not for the fact that those who eat it indulge in powerful exercise, many more deaths would result from it. But if the courtiers cannot have exercise (which is the case if the court stays for a time in town) some of them always are left behind at death's door. . . .

. . . If the king [Henry II.] has decided to spend the day anywhere, especially if his royal will to do so had been publicly proclaimed by a herald, you may be certain that he will get off early in the morning, and by his sudden change of mind will throw everybody's plans into confusion. You may see men running about as though they were mad, urging on the pack-horses, driving chariots one into another, and everything in a state of confusion. From the noise and tumult you might imagine you were in the infernal regions. . . . You may be sure the king will sleep till noon. Pack-horses will be waiting under their loads, the chariots will be standing ready, the couriers falling asleep . . . and everybody grumbling. . . . [The king having finally determined to stay at some place where he had only sufficient accommodation and provisions for himself.] His pleasure seemed to be increased by the straits to which his courtiers were put. After wandering about three or four miles through an unknown forest, and frequently in the dark, we would consider our prayers answered if we found by chance some mean, filthy hut. Often were there fierce and bitter quarrels over these hovels, and courtiers fought with drawn swords for a lodging that it would have disgraced pigs to struggle for. . . .

55. THE SAINTLY LIFE OF THOMAS BECKET [A.D. 1170]

SOURCE: Roger de Hoveden, *Annals*, II, from the translation by H. T. Riley.

As for his life, it was perfectly unimpeachable before God and man. To arise before daybreak did not seem to

him a vain thing, as he knew that the Lord promised a crown to the watchful. For every day he arose before daybreak, while all the rest were asleep, and entering his oratory would pray there for a long time; and then returning, he would awake his chaplains and clerks from their slumbers, and the matins and hours [1] of the day being chanted, devoutly celebrate the mass; and every day and night he received three or five flagellations [2] from the hand of a priest. After the celebration of the mass, every day he re-entered his oratory, and, shutting the door after him, devoted himself to prayer with abundant tears; and no one but God alone knew the manner in which he afflicted his flesh. And thus did he do daily unto his flesh until the hour for dining. . . . He would love to dine among his people, not that he might sate his body with costly food, but that he might make his household cheerful thereby, and that he might fill the poor ones of the Lord with good things, whom according to his means, he daily increased in numbers. And although costly and exquisite food and drink were set before him, still his only food and drink were bread and water. . . . Every day when the Archbishop arose from dinner, unless more important business prevented him, he always devoted himself to reading the Scripture until the hour of vespers, at the time of sunset. His bed was covered with soft coverlets and cloths of silk, embroidered on the surface with gold wrought therein; and while other persons were asleep, he alone used to lie on the bare floor before his bed, repeating psalms and hymns, and never ceasing from prayers, until at last, overcome with fatigue, he would gradually recline his head upon a stone put beneath it in place of a pillow: and thus would his eyes enjoy sleep. . . . His inner garment was of coarse sackcloth made of goat's hair: with which his whole body was covered from the arms down to the knees.

[1] Services performed with chants at certain hours.

[2] Floggings or scourgings for the sake of disciplining the body.

But his outer garments were remarkable for their splendour and extreme costliness, to the end that, thus deceiving human eyes, he might please the sight of God. There was no individual acquainted with this secret of his way of living with the exception of two —one of whom was Robert, canon of Exeter, his chaplain, and the name of the other was Brun, who had charge of his sack-cloth garments, and washed them when necessary ; and they were bound by their words and oaths, that during his life, they would disclose these facts to no one.

56. A DESCRIPTION OF LONDON [A.D. 1173]

SOURCE: William Fitz-Stephen, *Descriptio Nobilissimae Civitatis Londonae*, prefixed to his biography of Thomas Becket. From Morley's edition of Stow's *Survey of London*.

Of the Site Thereof

Among the noble cities of the world that Fame celebrates the City of London, of the Kingdom of the English, is the one seat that pours out its fame more widely, sends to farther lands its wealth and trade, lifts its head higher than the rest. It is happy in the healthiness of its air, in the Christian religion, in the strength of its defences, the nature of its site, the honour of its citizens, the modesty of its matrons, pleasant in sports ; fruitful of noble men. Let us look into these things separately. . . .

Of Religion

There is in the church there the Episcopal Seat of St Paul, once it was Metropolitan, and it is thought will again become so if the citizens return into the island, unless perhaps the archiepiscopal title of St. Thomas the Martyr, and his bodily presence, preserve to Canterbury, where it is now, a perpetual dignity. But as St. Thomas has made both cities illustrious,

London by his rising, Canterbury by his setting, in regard of the saint, with admitted justice, each can claim advantage of the other. There are also, as regards the cultivation of the Christian faith, in London and the suburbs, thirteen larger conventual churches, besides lesser parish churches one hundred and twenty-six.

Of the Strength of the City

It has on the east the Palatine Castle,[1] very great and strong, of which the ground plan and the walls rise from a very deep foundation, fixed with a mortar tempered by the blood of animals. On the west are two towers very strongly fortified, with the high and great wall of the city having seven double gates, and towered to the north at intervals. London was walled and towered in like manner on the south, but the great fish-bearing Thames river which there glides, with ebb and flow from the sea, by course of time has washed against, loosened, and thrown down those walls. Also upwards to the west the royal palace is conspicuous above the same river, an incomparable building with ramparts and bulwarks, two miles from the city, joined to it by a populous suburb.

Of Gardens

Everywhere outside the houses of those living in the suburbs are joined to them, planted with trees, the spacious and beautiful gardens of the citizens.

Of Pasture and Tilth

Also, there are, on the north side, pastures and a pleasant meadowland, through which flow river streams, where the turning wheels of mills are put in motion with a cheerful sound. Very near lies a great forest, with woodland pastures,

[1] The Tower.

coverts of wild animals, stags, fallow deer, boars, and wild bulls. The tilled lands of the city are not of barren gravel but fat plains of Asia, that make crops luxuriant, and fill their tillers' barns with Ceres' sheaves.

Of Springs

There are also about London, on the north side, excellent suburban springs, with sweet, wholesome, and clear water that flows rippling over the bright stones, among which Holy Well, Clerken Well, and Saint Clements are frequented by greater numbers, and visited more by scholars and youth of the city when they go out for fresh air on summer evenings. It is a good city indeed when it has a good master.

Of Honour of the Citizens

That City is honoured by her men, adorned by her arms, populous with many inhabitants, so that in the time of slaughter of war under King Stephen, of those going out to muster twenty thousand horsemen and sixty thousand men on foot were estimated to be fit for war. Above all other citizens, everywhere, the citizens of London, are regarded as conspicuous and noteworthy for handsomeness of manners and of dress, at table, and in way of speaking. . . .

Of Schools

In London three principal churches have by privilege and ancient dignity famous schools, yet very often by support of some personage, or of some teachers who are considered notable and famous in philosophy, there are also other schools by favour or permission. On feast days the masters have festival meetings in the churches. Their scholars dispute, some by demonstration, others by dialectics, some recite enthymemes, others do better in using perfect syllo-

gims. Some are exercised in disputation for display, as wrestling with opponents; others for truth, which is the grace of perfectness. Sophists who feign are judged happy in their heap and flood of words. Others paralogise. Some orators, now and then, say in their rhetorical speeches something apt for persuasion, careful to observe rules of their art, and to omit none of the contingents. Boys of different schools strive against one another in verses, and contend about the principles of grammar and rules of the past and future tenses. . . .

Of the Ordering of the City

Those engaged in the several kinds of business, sellers of several things, contractors for several kinds of work, are distributed every morning into their several localities and shops. Besides, there is in London on the river bank, among the wines in ships and cellars sold by the vintners, a public cook shop, there eatables are to be found every day, according to the season, dishes of meat, roast, fried and boiled, great and small fish, coarser meats for the poor, more delicate for the rich, of game, fowls, and small birds. If there should come suddenly to any of the citizens friends, weary from a journey and too hungry to like waiting till fresh food is brought and cooked, with water to their hands comes bread, while one runs to the river bank, and there is all that can be wanted. However great the multitude of soldiers or travellers entering the city, or preparing to go out of it, at any hour of the day or night—that these may not fast too long and those may not go supperless—they turn hither, if they please, where every man can refresh himself in his own way. . . . Outside one of the gates there, immediately in the suburb, is a certain field, smooth (Smith) field in fact and name. Every Friday, unless it be a higher day of appointed solemnity, there is in it a famous show of noble

horses for sale. Earls, barons, knights, and many citizens who are in town, come to see or buy. . . . In another part of the field stand by themselves the goods proper to rustics, implements of husbandry, swine with long flanks, cows with full udders, oxen of bulk immense, and woolly flocks. . . . To this city from every nation under heaven merchants delight to bring their trade by sea. . . . This city . . . is divided into wards, has annual sheriffs for its consuls, has senatorial and lower magistrates, sewers and aqueducts in its streets, its proper places and separate courts for cases of each kind, deliberative, demonstrative, judicial, has assemblies on appointed days. I do not think there is a city with more commendable customs of church attendance, honour to God's ordinances, keeping sacred festivals, almsgiving, hospitality, confirming, betrothals, contracting marriages, celebration of nuptials, preparing feasts, cheering the guests, and also in care for funerals and the interment of the dead. The only pests of London are the immoderate drinking of fools and the frequency of fires. To this may be added that nearly all the bishops, abbots, and magnates of England are, as it were, citizens and freemen of London; having there their own splendid houses, to which they resort, where they spend largely when summoned to great councils by the king or by their metropolitan, or drawn thither by their own private affairs.

Of Sports

Let us now come to the sports and pastimes, seeing it is fit that a city should not only be commodious and serious, but also merry and sportful, . . . but London . . . hath holy plays, representations of torments wherein the constancy of martyrs appeared. Every year also at Shrove Tuesday, that we may begin with children's sports, seeing we all have been children, the schoolboys do bring cocks of the game to their master, and all the forenoon they delight themselves

in cock-fighting, after dinner, all the youths go into the field to play at the ball.

The scholars of every school have their ball, or baton, in their hands, the ancient and wealthy men of the city come forth on horseback to see the sport of the young men, and to take part of the pleasure in beholding their agility. Every Friday in Lent a fresh company of young men comes into the field on horseback, and the best horseman conducteth the rest. Then march forth the citizen's sons, and other young men, with disarmed lances and shields, and there they practise feats of war. Many courtiers likewise, when the king lieth near, and attendants of noblemen, do repair to these exercises, and while the hope of victory doth inflame their minds, do show good proof how serviceable they would be in martial affairs.

In Easter holidays they fight battles on th water, a shield is hung upon a pole, fixed in the midst of a stream, a boat is prepared without oars, to be carried by violence of the water, and in the forepart thereof standeth a young man, ready to give charge upon the shield with his lance, if so be he breaketh his lance against the shield, and doth not fall, he is thought to have performed a worthy deed, if so be, without breaking his lance, he runneth strongly against the shield, down he falleth into the water, for the boat is violently forced with the tide, but on each side of the shield ride two boats, furnished with young men, which recover him that falleth as soon as they may. Upon the bridge, wharfs, and houses, by the river's side, stand great numbers to see and laugh thereat.

In the holidays, all the summer the youths are exercised in leaping, dancing, shooting, wrestling, casting the stone, and practising their shields, the maidens trip in their timbrels, and dance as long as they can well see. In winter, every holiday before dinner, the boars prepared for brawn are set to fight, or else bulls and bears are baited.

When the great fen, or moor, which watereth the walls of the city on the north side, is frozen, many young men play upon the ice; some, striding as wide as they may, do slide swiftly; others make themselves seats of ice, as great as millstones; one sits down, many hand in hand to draw him, and one slipping on a sudden, all fall together; some tie bones to their feet and under their heels; and shoving themselves by a little picked staff, do slide as swiftly as a bird flieth in the air, or an arrow out of a crossbow. Sometime two run together with poles, and hitting on the other, either one or both do fall, not without hurt, some break their arms, some their legs, but youth desirous of glory in this sort exerciseth itself against the times of war. Many of the citizens do delight themselves in hawks and hounds; for they have liberty of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all Chiltern, and in Kent to the water of Cray.

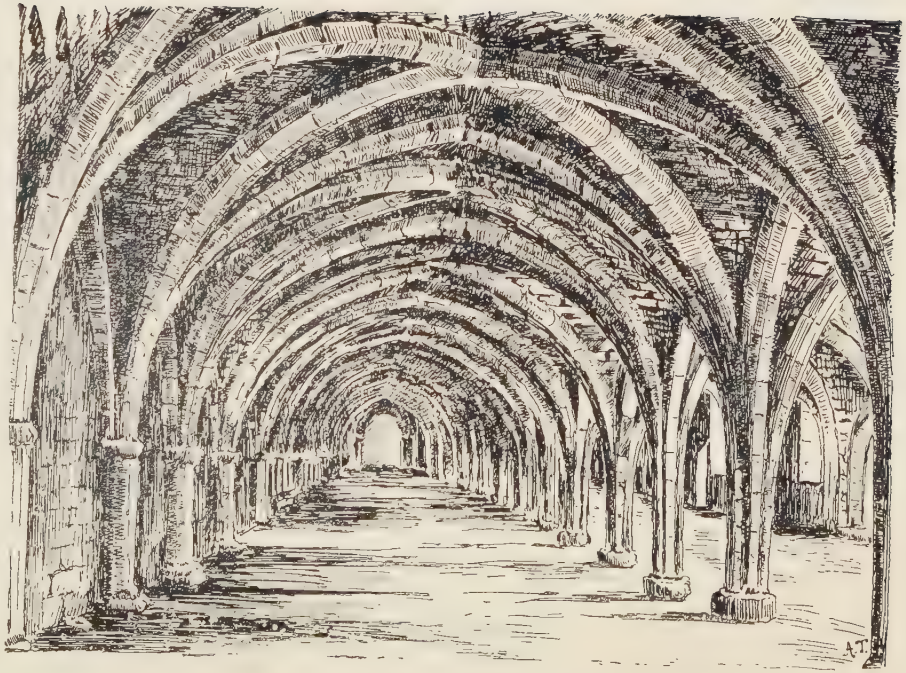
57. MONASTIC LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES [*circa* 1180]

SOURCE: Jocelin of Brakelond's *Chronicle*, translated by Sir E. Clarke.

(*a*) *The Entertainment of Visitors*

In those days the cellarers, as well as other officials, borrowed moneys at interest from Jurnet the Jew (without apprising the convent), upon a security sealed with the above-mentioned seal. Now when the debt had mounted up to sixty pounds, the convent was summoned to pay the cellarer's debt. The cellarer was deposed, although he said it was hard to deal thus with him, stating that for three years he had entertained in the guest house by the abbot's orders, whether the abbot were in residence or not, all the guests which the abbot ought himself to entertain, according to the rule of the abbey. Master Dennis was made cellarer in his stead. . . . Now, on the third day after Master Dennis became cellarer, three

Sports in the Middle Ages



The Cellarium, Fountains Abbey

knights with their esquires were received in the guest house that they might there be refreshed, the abbot then being at home and abiding in his inner chamber; all which, when this great-souled Achilles had heard, not willing to pay toll in his own domain, as the others had done, he rose up and took the key of the cellar, and taking with him those knights to the abbot's hall, and approaching the abbot, said, "My lord, you well know that the rule of the abbey is, that knights and lay folk should be entertained in your hall, if the abbot be at home. I neither will nor can receive those guests whom it belongs to you to entertain; else take back the keys of your cellar, and appoint some other cellarer at your good pleasure." The abbot hearing this, well he entertained those knights, and ever afterwards entertained knights and lay folk according to the ancient rule, and so they are still received when the abbot is at home.

(*b*) *The Election of an Abbot*

At last the prior and the twelve that were with him, after many fatigues and delays, stood before the king [Henry II] at Waltham, the manor of the Bishop of Winchester. . . . The king graciously received them and commanded the brethren by prolocutors . . . that they should nominate three members of our convent. The prior and brethren retiring as if to confer thereupon, drew forth the sealed writing [containing the names of three candidates previously selected by the monks] and opened it and found the names written in this order: Samson, sub-sacrista; Roger, celerarius; Hugo, tercius prior. . . . The king first enquiring whether they were born in his realm, and in whose lordship, said he knew them not, directing that with these three, some other three of the convent should be nominated. This being assented to, William the sacrist said, "Our prior ought to be nominated because he is our head," which was directly

allowed. The prior said, "William the sacrist is a good man"; the like was said of Dennis, and that was settled. These being nominated before the king without any delay, the king marvelled, saying, "These men have been speedy in their work; God is with them."

Next the king commanded that, for the honour of his Kingdom, they should name three persons of other houses. . . . That being done, the king thanked them, and ordered that three should be struck off of the nine; and forthwith the three strangers were struck off. . . . William the sacrist voluntarily retired, two of the five were struck out by command of the king, and, ultimately, one out of the remaining three. There then remained but two, the prior and Samson.

Then at length the before-named prolocutors of our lord the king were called to the council of the brethren: and Dennis, speaking as one for all, began by commending the persons of the prior and Samson, saying, that each of them was learned, each was good, each was of meritorious life and good character. But always in the corner of his discourse he gave prominence to Samson, multiplying words in his praise, saying that he was a man strict in life, severe in reforming excesses, and ready to work hard; heedful, moreover, in secular matters, and approved in various offices. The Bishop of Winchester replied, "We see what it is you wish to say; from your address we gather that your prior seems to have been somewhat remiss, and that, in fact, you wish to have him who is called Samson. . . . Whereupon . . . the majority answered clearly, "We do wish Samson."

Samson was then named to the king, and after a brief consultation with those about him, the king called all in and said, "You present to me Samson, I know him not; had you presented to me your prior, I should have accepted him, because I know and am well acquainted with him; but now I will do as you desire me. Take heed to yourselves;

by the very eyes of God, if you have done ill, I shall call you to severe account." . . .

Then the elect, falling down at the king's feet and kissing them hastily arose, and forthwith went towards the altar, erect in gait, and with unmoved countenance, saying, "Miserere mei Deus," together with his brethren.

The king, observing this, said to the bystanders, "By the eyes of God, this abbot-elect thinks himself worthy to govern an abbey!"

(c) *A Business-like Abbot*

The abbot caused inquisition to be made throughout each manor, concerning the annual rents from the freemen, and the names of the labourers and their tenements and the services due from each; and he reduced all to writing. Likewise he repaired their old halls and unroofed houses round which hovered kites and crows. He built new chapels, and likewise inner chambers and upper stories in many places where there never had been any dwelling house at all, only barns. He also enclosed many parks, which he replenished with beasts of chase, keeping a huntsman with dogs; and, upon the visit of any person of quality, sat with his monks in some walk of the wood, and sometimes saw the coursing of the dogs: but I never saw him take part in the sport. He cleared much land; brought it into tillage, in all things looking forward to the benefit likely to accrue to the abbey. . . . Likewise in managing these manors, as well as in other matters, he appointed keepers who were far more careful than their predecessors—some monks, some laymen, to look after us and our lands more carefully. . . . Moreover, by his command, a general survey was made throughout the hundreds . . . of dues and rents and issues, which, for the greater part had ever been concealed by the farmers. He reduced it all to writing, so that within four years from the

time of his election, there was not one who could defraud him of the rents of the abbey to the value of a single penny, whereas he himself had not received from his predecessors any writing touching the management of the abbey, except one small schedule, wherein were the names of the Knights of St Edmund and the names of the manors, and what rent was due on each farm. . . .

(*d*) *The Authority of the Cellarer*

The cellarer was also wont to exercise authority over the ways without the town, so that it was not lawful for any one to dig for chalk or clay without his house. He also was accustomed to summon the fullers of the town, that they should furnish cloth for his salt. . . . Also, whosoever bought corn, or indeed anything from the cellarer, was accustomed to be quit from toll at the gate of the town when he went homewards, wherefor the cellarer sold his produce dearer. Also, the cellarer is accustomed to the toll of flax at the time of its carrying, namely, one truss from each lord. Also, the cellarer alone ought, or at least used to have, a free bull in the fields of the town: now many persons have bulls. . . . The cellarer was also avid where this privilege in the market of this town, that he and his purveyors should have pre-emption of all the provisions for the use of the convent, if the abbot were not at home. Also that the purveyors of the abbot, or cellarer, whichever of them first came into the market, should buy first, either the latter without the former, or the former without the latter. But if both were present, then preference was to be given to the abbot. Also, in the season when herrings were sold, the purveyors of the abbot should always buy a hundred herrings at a halfpenny less than other people. . . .

58. THE LAW OF SANCTUARY [A.D. 1180]

SOURCE: Roger de Hoveden, *Annals*, II (Riley).

"Of the Accused who take Refuge with the Church"

"Whatever accused or guilty person shall flee to a church for the sake of protection, from the time that he shall have reached the porch of such church, he shall on no account be seized by any one pursuing him, except only by the bishop or by his servant. And if, on his flight, he shall enter the house of a priest or his court-yard, he is to have the same security and protection, as he would have had in the church, supposing always that the priests' house and court-yard are standing upon the land of the church. If the person is a thief or burglar, that which he has wrongfully taken, if he has it in his possession, he is to restore, and if he has entirely made away with it, and has anything of his own by which to make restitution, he is to make restitution in full to him whom he has injured. And if the thief has thus acted according to his usual practice, and shall happen to have frequently made his escape to churches and priests' houses, then, after making restitution of what he has taken away, he is to abjure that county, and not to return thereto; and if he does not make restitution, no one is to presume to harbour him, unless with leave granted by the King."

59. BUILDING REGULATIONS IN RICHARD I.'s TIME [A.D. 1189]

SOURCE: From the London Assizes of 1189 or 1212 quoted in Hudson Turner, *History of Domestic Architecture*, Vol. I.

When two neighbours shall have agreed to build between themselves a wall of stone, each shall give a foot and a half of land, and so they shall construct, at their joint cost, a

stone wall three feet thick and sixteen feet in height. And, if they agree, they shall make a gutter between them, to carry off the water from their houses, as they may deem most convenient. But if they should not agree, either of them may make a gutter to carry the water dripping from his house on to his own land, except he can convey it into the high street.

They may also, if they agree, raise the said wall as high as they please, at their joint expense, and if it shall happen that one shall wish to raise the wall, and the other not, it shall be lawful for him who is willing, to raise his own part as much as he please, and build upon it, without damage of the other, at his own cost.

And if any one shall build his own stone wall, upon his own land, of the height of sixteen feet, his neighbour ought to make a gutter under the eaves of the house which is placed on that wall, and receive in it the water falling from that house, and lead it on to his own land, unless he can lead it into the high street.

Also, no one of two parties having a common wall built between them, can, or ought, to pull down any portion of his part of the said wall, or lessen its thickness, or make arches in it, without the assent and will of the other.

And if any one shall have windows looking towards the land of a neighbour, and although he and his predecessors have long been possessed of the view of the aforesaid windows, nevertheless, his neighbour may lawfully obstruct the view of those windows, by building opposite to them on his own ground, as he shall consider most expedient; except he who hath the windows can show any writing whereby his neighbour may not obstruct the view of those windows.

Let it be borne in mind that in former times a great part of the city was built of wood, and the houses were roofed with straw, reeds and such things; so that when any house caught fire, a great part of the city was destroyed by that fire, as

happened in the first year of the reign of King Stephen. For it is written in the chronicles that in a fire which began at London Bridge, St Paul's Church was burnt down, and the fire proceeded thence, burning all the houses and buildings as far as St Clement Danes. Therefore many citizens, to avoid such danger, built according to their means, on their ground, a stone house covered and protected by thick tiles against the fury of fire, whereby it often happened that when a fire arose in the city and burnt many edifices, and had reached such a house, not being able to injure it, it became there extinguished, so that many neighbours' houses were wholly saved from fire by that house.

II

A decree made by the counsel of the citizens, for the setting into order of the city and to provide, by God's help, against fire.

First, they advise that all ale-houses be forbidden, except those which shall be licensed by the common council of the city at Guildhall, excepting those belonging to persons willing to build of stone, that the city may be secure. And that no baker bake, or ale-wife brew, by night, either with reeds or straw or stubble, but with wood only.

III

They advise also that all the cook-shops on the Thames be whitewashed and plastered within and without, and that all inner chambers and hostelries be wholly removed, so that there remain only the house (hall) and bed-room.

Whosoever wishes to build, let him take care, as he loveth himself and his goods, that he roof not with reed, nor rush, nor with any manner of litter, but with tile only, or shingle, or boards, or, if it may be, with lead, within the city and

Portsoken. Also all houses which till now are covered with reed or rush, which can be plastered, let them be plastered within eight days, and let those which shall not be so plastered within the term be demolished by the aldermen and lawful men of the venue.

All wooden houses which are nearest to the stone houses in Cheap, whereby the stone houses in Cheap may be in peril, shall be securely amended by view of the mayor and sheriffs, and good men of the city, or, without any exception, to whomsoever they may belong, pulled down.

The watches, and they who watch by night for the custody of the city shall go out by day and return by day, or they by whom they may have been sent forth shall be fined forty shillings by the city. And let old houses in which brewing or baking is done be whitewashed and plastered within and without, that they may be safe against fire.

Let all the aldermen have a proper hook and cord, and let him who shall not have one within the appointed term be amerced by the city. Foreign workmen who come into the city, and refuse to obey the aforesaid decree, shall be arrested until brought before the mayor and good men to hear their judgment. They say also that it is only proper that before every house should be a tub full of water, either of wood or stone.

60. HOW THE JEWS WERE TREATED [A.D. 1189]

SOURCE: Roger de Hoveden, *Annals*, II (Riley).

While the king [Richard I.] was seated at table [at his coronation banquet], the chief men of the Jews came to offer presents to him, but as they had been forbidden the day before to come to the king's court on the day of the coronation, the common people, with scornful eye and insatiable heart, rushed upon the Jews and stripped them, and then scourging them, cast them forth out of the king's

hall. Among them was Benedict, a Jew of York, who, after having been so maltreated and wounded by the Christians that his life was despaired of, was baptised by William, prior of the Church of St Mary at York, in the church of the Innocents, and was named William, and thus escaped the peril of death and the hands of the persecutors. The citizens of London, on hearing of this, attacked the Jews in the city, and burned their houses; but by the kindness of their Christian friends, some few made their escape. On the day after the Coronation, the king sent his servants, and caused those offenders to be arrested who had set fire to the city; not for the sake of the Jews, but on account of the houses and property of the Christians which they had burnt and plundered, and he ordered some of them to be hanged.

. . . . . .

In the month of March [A.D. 1190] on the . . . sixth day before Palm Sunday, the Jews of the city of York, in number five hundred men, besides women and children, shut themselves up in the tower of York, with the consent and sanction of the keeper of the Tower, and of the sheriff, in consequence of their dread of the Christians; but when the said sheriff and the constable sought to regain possession of it, the Jews refused to deliver it up. In consequence of this, the people of the city, and the strangers who had come within the jurisdiction thereof, at the exhortation of the sheriff and constable, with one consent made an attack upon the Jews.

After they had made assaults upon the tower, day and night, the Jews offered the people a large sum of money to allow them to depart with their lives; but this the others refused to receive. Upon this, one skilled in their laws arose and said: "Men of Israel, listen to my advice. It is better that we should kill one another, than fall into the hands of the enemies of our law." Accordingly, all the Jews, both men as well as women, gave their assent to his advice, and each master of a family, beginning with the chief person of

his household, with a sharp knife first cut the throats of his wife and sons and daughters, and ten of all their servants, and lastly his own. . . . In the meantime, some of the Christians set fire to the Jews' houses and plundered them; and thus all the Jews in the city of York were destroyed, and all acknowledgments of debts due to them were burnt.

61. REGULATIONS REGARDING SEA-FARING MEN
[A.D. 1190]

SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, I.

The king [Richard I.] also made the same time certain ordinances to be observed among the sea-faring men which tended to this effect:

(1) First, that if any man chanced to slay another on the shipboard, he should be bound to the dead body and so thrown into the sea.

(2) Secondly, if he killed him on land, he should yet be bound to him as before, and so buried quick together.

(3) Thirdly, if any man should be convicted by lawful witness, that he drew any weapon to strike any other, or chanced by striking at any man to draw blood of him that was smitten, he should lose his hand.

(4) Fourthly, if he gave but a blow with his fist without bloodshedding, he should be plunged several times over head and ears in the water.

(5) Fifthly, if any man reviled another he should for every time so misusing himself, forfeit an ounce of silver.

(6) Sixthly, that if any man were taken with theft or pickery,[1] and thereof convicted, he should have his head polled, and hot pitch poured upon his pate, and upon that, the feathers of some pillow or cushion shaken aloft, that he might thereby be known for a thief, and at the next arrival of the ship to any land, he put forth of the company to seek his adventures without all hope of return unto his fellows.

[1] Larceny.

62. THE REWARD OF A KING'S JESTER [A.D. 1200]

SOURCE: A letter written by King John and quoted in *King's Letters.*

To William Piculf, and Geoffry, his son.

John, by the grace of God, etc. Know ye, that we have given, and by the present charter have confirmed to William Piculf, our fool, Fonte-Ossanne with all its appurtenances, to have and to hold for himself, and his heirs, on condition of doing henceforward annually for ourself the service of fool, as long as he shall live; and after his decease, his heirs shall hold the same land from us, by the service of one pair of gilded spurs, to be rendered to us annually.

Wherefore, we will and positively command that the foresaid Piculf and his heirs shall have and hold for ever, fairly and in peace, freely and in quiet, the foresaid land, with all its appurtenances, by virtue of the aforesaid service.

63. LONDON AND OTHER TOWNS IN JOHN'S REIGN [A.D. 1204]

SOURCE: Richard of Devizes, *Chronicles of the Crusaders.*

London.

Every race of men, out of every nation which is under heaven, resort thither in great numbers; every nation has introduced into that city its vices and bad manners. No one lives in it without offence: there is not a single street in it that does not abound in miserable, obscene wretches; there, in proportion as any man has exceeded in wickedness, so much is he the better.

I am not ignorant of the disposition I am exhorting; you have, in addition to your youth, an ardent disposition, a slowness of memory and a soberness of reason between extremes. I feel in myself no uneasiness about you, unless you should abide with men of corrupt lives; for from our

associations our manners are formed. But let that be as it may. You will come to London. Behold! I warn you whatever of evil or perversity there is in any, whatever in all parts of the world, you will find in that city alone. Go not to the dances of panders, nor mix yourself up with the herds of houses of ill-repute; avoid the dice, the theatre and the tavern. You will find more braggadacios there than in all France, while the number of flatterers is infinite. Stage players, buffoons, evildoers . . . druggists . . . fortune-tellers, extortioners, nightly-strollers, magicians, mimics, common-beggars, tatterdemalions—this whole crew has filled every house. So if you do not wish to live with the shameful, you will not dwell in London.

I am not speaking against the learned, whether monks or Jews; although, still, from their dwelling together with such evil persons, I should esteem them less perfect there than elsewhere.

Nor does my advice go far, as that you should betake yourself to no city; with my counsel you will take up your residence nowhere but in a town, though it remains to say in what.

Canterbury.

Therefore if you should land near Canterbury, you will have to lose your way, if even you should pass through it. It is an assemblage of the vilest, entirely devoted to their—I know not whom, but who has been lately canonized, and had been the Archbishop of Canterbury, as everywhere they die in the open day in the streets for want of bread and employment.

Rochester and Chichester.

Rochester and Chichester are mere villages, and they possess nothing for which they should be called cities, but the sees of their bishops.

Oxford.

Oxford scarcely, I will not say, satisfies but sustains its clerks.

Exeter.

Exeter supports men and beasts with the same grain.

Bath.

Bath is placed, or rather buried, in the lowest parts of the valleys, in a very dense atmosphere and sulphury vapour, as if it were at the gates of Hell.

Worcester, Chester, Hereford.

Nor yet will you select your habitation in the Northern cities, nor in Worcester, Chester, Hereford, on account of the desperate Welshmen.

York.

York abounds in Scots, vile and faithless men, or rather rascals.

Ely.

The town of Ely is always putrefied by the surrounding marshes.

Durham, Norwich, Lincoln.

In Durham, Norwich and Lincoln, there are very few of your disposition among the powerful; you will never hear anyone speak French.

Bristol.

At Bristol there is nobody who is not, or has not been a soap-maker, and every Frenchman esteems soap-makers as he does night-men.

Country Towns.

After the cities, every market, village or town, has but rude and rustic inhabitants. Moreover, at all times, account the Cornish people for such as you know our Flemish are accounted in France. For the rest, the kingdom itself is generally most favoured with the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth: and in every place there are some good, but much fewer in them all than in Winchester alone.

Winchester.

This is in those parts the Jerusalem of the Jews, in it alone they enjoy perpetual peace; it is the school of those who desire to live well and prosper. Here they become men, here there is bread and wine enough for nothing. There are therein monks of such compassion and gentleness, clergy of such understanding and frankness, citizens of such civility and good faith, ladies of such beauty and modesty, that little hinders but I should go there and become a Christian with such Christians. To that city I direct you, the city of cities. The mother of all, the best above all.

There is but one fault, and that alone in which they customarily indulge too much. With the exception, I should say of the learned and of the Jews, the Winchester people tell lies like watchmen, but it is in making up reports. For in no place under heaven so many false rumours are fabricated so easily as there; otherwise they are true in everything.

64. SOME CLAUSES OF MAGNA CARTA [A.D. 1215]

SOURCE: *Magna Carta*: a commentary on the Great Charter of King John, by W. S. M'Kechnie.

I. In the first place we have granted to God, and by this our present Charter confirmed for us and for our heirs for ever that the English church shall be free and shall have all

her rights entire and her liberties inviolate ; and we will that it be thus observed. . . . We have also granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and for our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to be had and held by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs for ever.

IV. The guardian of the land of an heir who is thus under age shall take from the land of the heir nothing but reasonable produce, reasonable customs and reasonable services, and that without destruction or waste of men or goods. . . .

V. The guardian, moreover, so long as he has the wardship of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, places for live stock, fish ponds, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land ; and he shall restore to the heir when he has come to full age, all his land stocked with ploughs and implements of husbandry, according as the season of husbandry shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonably bear.

VII. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith and without difficulty have her marriage portion and inheritance . . . and she may remain in the house of her husband forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned to her.

X. If anyone die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower and pay nothing of that debt ; and if any children of the deceased are left under age, necessaries shall be provided for them in keeping with the holding of the deceased ; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, reserving, however, service due to feudal lords ; in like manner let it be done touching debts due to others than Jews.

XII. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom unless by common counsel of our kingdom, except for ransoming our person, for making our eldest son a knight, and for marrying our eldest daughter ; and for these shall not be levied more than a reasonable aid. In like manner it shall be done concerning aids from the citizens of London.

XVI. No one shall be compelled to perform greater service for a knight's fee, or for any other free tenement, than is due therefrom.

XXIII. No community or individual shall be compelled to make bridges at river banks, except those who from of old were legally bound to do so.

XXVII. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest kinsfolk and friends, under the supervision of the Church, saving to everyone the debts which the deceased owed to him.

XXVIII. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take corn or other provision from anyone without immediately tendering money therefor, unless he can have postponement thereof by permission of the seller.

XXX. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or any other person, shall take up the horses or carts of any freeman for transport duty, against the will of the said freeman.

XXXV. Let there be one measure of wine throughout our whole realm; and one measure of ale; and one measure of corn, to wit "The London quarter"; and one width of cloth (whether dyes or russet, or halberget), to wit, two ells within the selvedges; of weights also let it be as of measures.

XXXIX. No freeman shall be arrested, or detained in prison, or deprived of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way molested; and we will not set forth against him, nor send against him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers by the law of the land.

XL. To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice.

XLI. All merchants shall have safe and secure exit from England, and entry to England, with the right to tarry there and to move about as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and right custom, quit from all evil tolls, except (in time of war) such merchants as are of the land at war with us. And if any such are found in our

land at the beginning of the war, they shall be detained, without injury to their bodies or their goods, until information be received by us, or by our chief justician, how the merchants of our land found in the land at war with us are treated; and if our men are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land.

XLVIII. All evil customs connected with forests and warrens, foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, river-banks and their wardens shall immediately be inquired into in each county by twelve sworn knights of the same county chosen by the honest men of the same county, and shall within forty days of the same inquest be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored, provided always that we previously have information thereof, or our justician, if we should not be in England.

65. A WRESTLING MATCH IN THE CITY OF LONDON
[A.D. 1222]

SOURCE: Roger of Wendover, *Annals*, II (Giles).

On St James's Day, the inhabitants of the City of London met at the hospital of Queen Matilda, outside the city, to engage in wrestling with the inhabitants of the district round the city, to see which of them was possessed of the greatest strength. After they had contended for a length of time amidst the shouts of both parties, the citizens, having put their antagonists into disorder, gained the victory. Amongst others, the seneschal of the Abbot of Westminster was defeated, and went away in deep deliberation as to how he could revenge himself and his companions. At length he fixed on the following plan of revenge; he offered a prize of a ram on St Peter's Day, and sent word throughout the district for all to come and wrestle at Westminster, and whoever should prove himself the best wrestler should receive

the ram for a prize. He, in the meantime, collected a number of strong and skilful wrestlers, that he might thus gain the victory; but the citizens, being desirous of gaining another victory, came to the sport in great strength. The contest having been commenced by both parties, they continued to throw each other for some time. The seneschal, however, with his suburban companions and fellow-provincials, who sought revenge rather than sport, without any reason flew to arms, and severely beat the citizens, who had come there unarmed, causing bloodshed amongst them.

66. THE COMING OF THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS TO ENGLAND [A.D. 1224]

SOURCE: Thomas of Eccleston, *Chronicle*, translated by Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C.

In the year of the Lord 1224 . . . the Friars Minor [*i.e.* Franciscans], first arrived in England, landing at Dover. They were four clerics and five lay brethren. The clerics were these: first, Brother Agnellus of Pisa, who was in deacon's orders and about thirty years of age. He had been chosen by the blessed Francis to go to England as Minister Provincial. . . . He had been custos of Paris, and had there borne himself with such discretion that both with the brethren and with seculars he was much and rightly esteemed as a man of notable sanctity. The second was Brother Richard of Plymouth, an Englishman by birth, who was both priest and preacher, and more advanced in age. . . . The third was Brother Richard of Devon, also an Englishman. He was in orders an acolyte, and in age a youth. Many examples did he leave us of his stout-heartedness and obedience. For after having travelled by obedience through many provinces, he dwelt continuously at a place called Romney, where, for fifteen years, he was frequently laid low by fevers. . . . The fourth was Brother William of Abby,

who was but a novice. . . . He also was an Englishman and a youth. . . . When Brother Gregory, the Minister of France, asked him whether he would be willing to go to England, he replied that he did not know. At which reply the Minister wondered, until Brother William said that the reasons why he did not know was that his will was not his own but the Minister's and so whatever the Minister willed he willed. . . . Now the lay brethren were these : Brother Henry of Treviso, by birth a Lombard, who, because of his sanctity and remarkable discretion, was afterwards made Guardian of London. . . . The second was Brother Lawrence, who was born at Beauvais. . . . After many labours, and, as I think, through the merits of our holy Father, he came to the haven of rest, London, where he now is, being stricken down with a desperate sickness, and looking forward to the end of so long a weariness. The third lay brother was Brother William of Florence. . . . The fourth was Melioratus. The fifth, Brother James from beyond the Alps, who was as yet but a novice. . . .

These nine having then been charitably conveyed across to England, and cordially provided for in their necessities by the nuns of Fécamp, on arriving at Canterbury sojourned for two days at the priory of the Holy Trinity. Then four of them at once set off for London. . . . The other five went to the Priest's Hospice, where they remained until they found for themselves a dwelling. But very shortly after their arrival they were given a small chamber at the back of a schoolhouse, where from day to day they remained almost continuously shut up. *But when the scholars had gone home in the evening*, the brethren went into the schoolhouse, and there made a fire and sat by it. And sometimes at the evening conference they would put on the fire a small pot in which were the dregs of beer, and they would dip a cup into the pot and drink in turn. . . . One who merited to be a companion and participator in this unblemished simplicity

and holy poverty has testified that at times the beer was so thick that when the pot was to be put on the fire they had to put it in water, and so they drank rejoicing. In like manner, at Salisbury, it frequently happened that the brethren had but the dregs of beer to drink, which they drank with much merriment and joy at the hour of conference round the kitchen fire, and he esteemed himself fortunate who could in a friendly way seize the cup from another. . . . In those days so strictly did the brethren avoid contracting debts that hardly in extreme necessity would they become debtors. Thus it happened that Brother Agnellus, with Brother Solomon the Guardian of London, wished to audit the accounts of the brethren in London, to see what were their expenses during one term of the year, but when he saw how the books showed . . . a plentiful increase in neediness he threw from him both books and bills, and . . . never again would he audit the accounts.

67. EXCESSIVE CHARGES FOR LODGINGS AT CAMBRIDGE [A.D. 1231]

SOURCE: A letter from Henry III. to the Mayor of Cambridge, quoted in *King's Letters.*

The King to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Cambridge:

Greeting. It is well known to you that a multitude of scholars flows together to our city of Cambridge for the sake of study, from various places at home and abroad; which we hold right pleasing and acceptable, as it results in no small profit to our kingdom and honour to ourselves; and, above all, you, amongst whom the students have their daily life, should rejoice and be glad. But we have heard that in letting your lodgings you are so heavy and burdensome to the scholars dwelling amongst you, that unless you behave yourselves more measurably and modestly toward them in this matter of your exactions, they must leave our city, and,

King and Jester

regem francoꝝ. Qui pendebat aũ vꝛe pro isto mꝛio plusquã septuaginta ayliꝛ aĩaꝝ pro quib; omnib; solas. recepit umbꝛas cũ consolacõnib; ꝓmissionꝫ. Deputauit aũ ipsam impatricem inclusam vnclus incarceratã septonib; ꝛ maurismentillatis ꝛ vetul' laruis cõsimilib; nocte dieq; sꝛictissime custodiendã. ita ut malet pauꝑ vimo militi anglico ul' franco. mitꝛi modo indissolubi sociari. De Jnuectõne

Ꝗrca idem tꝛpr' electꝰ ẽdam ꝛ Accusacõne hũricꝰ clemẽs dẽ ~~malcõne~~ ꝯ bꝛit. comi hibꝛnicꝰ dñs min' sapiẽs se gꝛ cẽ ayaꝛes ꝛeuet iactitando se cãm fuisse moꝛ eallum. tꝰ Ric comitꝰ ayaꝛescalli uocando eundẽ

The Marriage of Henry III

having abandoned the University, depart from our land, which we in no respect desire. And therefore we command you firmly, enjoining you that, concerning the letting of the aforesaid lodgings, and keeping yourselves in measure according to the custom of the University, you should estimate the aforesaid lodgings, by two masters and two good legal men of your town, and according to their estimate should permit them to be hired; thus bearing yourselves in this matter, ye may be held safe; for that if any complaint should arrive to us, we should put our hand to the matter.

Witness the king at Oxford, the third day of May. [1231.]

68. THE PAGEANT OF A KING'S MARRIAGE [A.D. 1236]

SOURCE: Matthew Paris, *English History*, II (Giles).

There were assembled at the king's [Henry III.'s] nuptial festivities such a host of nobles of both sexes, such number of religious men, such crowds of the populace, and such a variety of actors, that London, with its capacious bosom, could scarcely contain them. The whole city was ornamented with flags and banners, chaplets and hangings, candles and lamps, and with wonderful devices and extraordinary representations and all the roads were cleaned from mud and dirt, sticks and everything offensive. The citizens, too, went out to meet the king and queen, dressed out in their ornaments, and vied with each other in trying the speed of their horses. On the same day, when they left the city for Westminster, to perform the duties of butler to the king (which office belonged to them by right of old, at the coronation), they proceeded thither dressed in silk garments, with mantles worked in gold, and with costly changes of raiment, mounted on valuable horses, glittering with new bits and saddles, and riding in troops arranged in order. They carried with them three hundred and sixty

gold and silver cups, preceded by the king's trumpeters and with horns sounding, so that such a wonderful novelty struck all who beheld it with astonishment. . . . The Earl of Chester carried the sword of St Edward, which was called "Curtem," before the king, as a sign that he was earl of the palace, and had by right the power of restraining the king if he should commit an error. The Earl was attended by the Constable of Chester, and kept the people away with a wand when they pressed forward in a disorderly way. The grand marshal of England, the Earl of Pembroke, carried a wand before the king and cleared the way before him both in the church and in the banquet hall and arranged the banquet and the guests at table. The wardens of the Cinque Ports carried the pall over the king, supported by four spears, but the claim to this duty was not altogether undisputed. The Earl of Leicester supplied the king with water in basins to wash before his meal; the Earl Waremore performed the duty of king's cupbearer, supplying the place of the Earl of Arundel, because the latter was a youth and not as yet made a belted knight. Master Michael Belet was butler *ex officio*; the Earl of Hereford performed the duties of marshal of the king's household, and William Beauchamp held the station of almoner. The justiciary of the forests arranged the drinking cups of the table at the king's right hand, although he met with some opposition, which however fell to the ground. The citizens of London passed the wine about in all directions, in costly cups, and those of Winchester superintended the cooking of the feast. . . . The ceremony was splendid with the gay dresses of the clergy and knights who were present. The abbot of Westminster sprinkled the holy water, and the treasurer, acting as sub-dean, carried the paten. . . .

Why describe the abundance of meats and dishes on the table? the quantity of venison, the variety of fish, the joyous sounds of the glee-men, and the gaiety of the waiters?

Whatever the world could afford to create pleasure and magnificence was there brought together from every quarter.

69. AN EDUCATED LADY IN NORMAN TIMES

SOURCE: Guy of Warwick, quoted from Dale, *National Life and Character in the Mirror of Early English Literature.*

Gentil she was, and as demurë
As ger-fauk, or falcon to lurë
That out of mewë were y-drawë,
So fair was none, in soothë sawë!
She was thereto courteous, and free, and wise
And in the seven arts learnëd withouten miss.
Her masters were thither come
Out of Thoulousë, all and some,
White and hoar all they were;
Busy they were that maiden to lere.
And her lerëd of astronomy,
Of ars-metrick, and of geometry;
Of sophistry she was also witty,
Of rhetorick, and of other clergy.
Learned she was in musick:
Of clergy was her none like.

70. THE PROPHECIES OF ROGER BACON, THE PHILOSOPHER [A.D. 1250]

SOURCE: Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, quoted in Vol. I. of Macfarlane and Thomson, *Comprehensive History of England.*

(The following extracts from his *Opus Majus* illustrate the almost prophetic anticipation of what are generally considered as modern discoveries.)

1. A vessel may be so constructed, and oars therein so disposed, as to make more way with one man in her than another vessel fully manned.

2. It is possible to make a chariot which, without any assistance of animals, shall move with that irresistible force which is ascribed to those scythed chariots in which the ancients fought.

3. It is possible to make instruments for flying, so that a man sitting in the middle thereof, and steering with a kind of rudder, may manage what is contrived to answer the end of wings, so as to divide and pass through the air.

4. We can so shape transparent substances, and so arrange them with respect to our sight and objects, that rays can be broken and bent as we please, so that objects may be seen far off or near, under whatever angle we please, and thus from an incredible distance we may read even the smallest letters, and number the grains of dust and sand, on account of the greatness of the angle under which we see them ; and we may manage so as hardly to see bodies when near us, on account of the smallness of the angle under which we cause them to be seen ; for vision of this sort is not a consequence of distance, except as that affects the magnitude of the angle. And thus a boy may seem a giant, and a man a mountain.

71. A THIRTEENTH CENTURY MANOR HOUSE [A.D. 1256]

SOURCE : Historical MSS. Commission Reports 9, I, quoted in Robinson's *Readings in European History*, Vol. I.

Robert le Moyne, Treasurer of St Paul's received from the Dean and Chapter of that church " a sufficient and handsome hall well ceiled with oak. On the western side is a worthy bed, on the ground a stone chimney, a wardrobe,[1] and a certain other small chamber ; at the eastern end is a pantry and a buttery. Between the hall and the chapel is a side room. There is a suitable chapel covered with tiles, a portable altar and a small cross. There are four tables on trestles in the hall. Likewise too, there is a good kitchen well covered with tiles, with a furnace and ovens, one large, the other small, for cakes, two tables, and alongside the kitchen a small house for baking. A new granary, too, covered with oak shingles, and a building in which the

[1] As usually in the Middle Ages this denotes a W.C.

dairy is contained, though it is divided. Likewise a chamber suited for clergymen and a necessary chamber. Also a henhouse. These are within the inner gate. Likewise, outside of that gate are an old house for the servants. a good stable, long and divided, and to the east of the principal building, beyond the smaller stable, a solar[1] for the use of the servants. Also a building in which is contained a bed; also two barns, one for wheat and one for oats. These buildings are enclosed with a moat, a wall and a hedge. Also beyond the middle gate is a good barn, and a stable for cows and another for oxen, these are old and dilapidated. Also beyond the outer gate is a pigstye."

72. THE DUTIES OF THE CINQUE PORTS [A.D. 1260]

SOURCE: Hakluyt, *Voyages.*

The *Book of Domesday*, before remembered, chargeth Dover with twenty vessels at sea, whereof each to be furnished with one-and-twenty men for fifteen days together: and saith further, that Romney and Sandwich answered the like service. (After discussing the term "like service," and coming to no definite conclusion, Hakluyt proceeds): and therefore, leaving it as I find it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome proof. At first I will have recourse to King Edward the First, his charter, in which I read that, "At each time that the king passeth over the sea, the Ports ought to rig up fifty-and-seven ships (whereof every one to have twenty armed soldiers) and to maintain them at their own costs, by the space of fifteen days together." And thus it stood with the Ports for their general charge, in the sixth year of his reign, for then was this charter sealed.

But as touching the particular burden of each one, I have seen two divers testimonies, of which the first is *A Note in*

[1] Usually an upper room.

French (bearing the countenance of a Record), and entitled to have been renewed in the two-and-twentieth year of the reign of the same king, by Stephen Penchester, then Constable of Dover Castle. . . . The other is *A Latin Custumall* of the *Town of Hythe*, the which, although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit. It standeth thus:

"These be the Five Ports of our soveriegn lord the king, having liberties which other Ports have not: Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes."

The Services due by the Same.

Hastings shall finde twenty-one ships, in every ship twenty-one men, Garcien or Boy, which is called a Gromet. . . .

Romney. Five ships, in every ship twenty-one men, and a Garcien. . . .

Hythe. Five ships, as Romney before. . . .

Dover. Twenty-one ships, as Hastings before.

Sandwich. Five ships, as Romney and Hythe.

Summe of ships, 57.

Summe of the men, 1187, and 57 Garciens.

This service the Barons of the Five Ports doe acknowledge to owe the king, upon summons yerely (if it happen) by the space of fifteen days together, at their own cost and charges, accounting that for the first day of the fifteen in which they shall spread their sails to go towards those parts that the king intendeth: and to serve so long after fifteen days as the king will, at his own pay and wage.

BOOK TWO

1272–1485

READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

ENGLAND UNDER THE LATER PLANTAGENETS

1. HOW THE PROCEEDINGS OF A MANORIAL COURT WERE CONDUCTED [*circa* A.D. 1277]

SOURCE: *La Court de Baron,* Maitland and Baildon (Selden Society) Vol. IV.

HERE may one find all sufficiently and all fully the whole course of a Court Baron, and the attachments, and the distresses and the plaints, and the accusations and defences, and the delays and days of love,[1] and the office of steward how he shall speak when he holdeth the courts.

Of Taking Fish in the Lord's Pond.

The Steward. Walter of the Moor, thou art attached to answer in this Court wherefore by night, and against the lord's peace, thou didst enter the lord's preserve and carried away all manner of fish at thy will, how wilt thou acquit thyself or make amends? for know that were anyone to prosecute you, you stand in peril of life and limb; therefore be advised.

The Accused. Sir, my wife had lain abed a whole month and never eaten or drunk anything she could relish, and for the craving to taste a perch she sent me to the bank of

[1] Days allotted to the parties to enable them to come to agreement.

the pond, to take one perch only, and that no other fish was taken or carried away. I am ready to do whatsoever thou dost award.

The Steward. Since thou gavest the other day, half a mark to have an inquest, dost thou think that we have forgotten this and wouldst thou now have other law? Therefore this court awards that thou be in the lord's mercy with pledges, etc. And, again, thou art confessing in this court to having taken and carried away a perch in other manner than thou shouldst have done, for thou couldst have come by it in more honest manner. Therefore, for this also thou art in mercy.

The defendant then craves leave to imparl and speaks thus:

Sir, for God's sake do not take it ill of me if I tell the truth, how the other evening I went along the bank of the pond, and saw the fish playing in the water so lovely and bright, and for the great craving I had for a perch I lay down on the bank of the pond and with my hand only and quite simply took and carried away this perch, and I will tell thee the cause of my covetous desire, my companion, that is my wife, had lain in bed a whole month, as my neighbours, who are here well know (and so on as above: he is adjudged by the steward in the lord's mercy.)[1]

Of Horse Stealing.

Steward. Bailiff, sir, let the prisoners come before us.

Bailiff. That will I, sir. Lo, they are here.

Steward. For what cause was this man taken?

Bailiff. Sir, for a mare, which he took in the field of C. in other manner than he ought.

Steward (*to prisoner*). What is thy name?

Prisoner. Sir, my name is William.

[1] Liable to any treatment the lord may choose to employ.

Steward. William, now answer me by what device thou camest by this mare? for, at least, thou canst not deny that she was found with thee, and that thou didst avow her for thine own.

Prisoner. Sir, I disavow this mare, and never saw her until now.

Steward. Then thou canst right boldly put thyself upon the good folk of this vill that thou didst not steal her.

Prisoner. Nay, sir, for these men have their hearts big against me, and hate me much because of this ill report which is surmised against me.

Steward. Thinkest thou, William, that there would be any who would commend his body and soul to the devil for thee or for love or hatred of thee? Nay, verily they are good folk, and lawful and thou canst oust from among them all those thou suspected of desiring thy condemnation, but do thou what is right and have God before thine eyes and give not thyself wholly to the enticement of devils; but confess the truth and thou shalt find us the more merciful.

Prisoner. Sir, in God's name have pity on me, and I will confess the truth, my great poverty and neediness and the enticement of the devil made me take this mare larcenously, and often have they made me do other things that I ought not to have done.

Steward. God pardon thee: at least, thou hast confessed in this court that larcenously thou tookest this mare; now name some of thy fellows, for it cannot be but that thou hadst fellowship in thy evil deeds.

Prisoner. Of a truth, sir, never had I a companion in my evil deeds save only the fiend.

Steward. Take him away and let him have a priest.[1]

[1] *i.e.* Let him be summarily executed.

2. THE LIBERATION OF A SERF [A.D. 1278]

SOURCE: Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I (from the translation quoted in Robinson's *Readings in European History*, I).

To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Richard, by the divine permission, abbot of Peterborough and of the convent of the same place, eternal greeting in the Lord.

Let all know that we have manumitted and liberated from all yoke of servitude William, the son of Richard of Wythington, whom previously we have held as our boon bondman, with his whole progeny and all his chattels, so that neither we nor our successors shall be able to require or exact any right or claim in the said William, his progeny, or his chattels. But the same William, with his whole progeny, or his chattels, shall remain free and quit and without disturbance, exaction, or any claim on the part of us or our successors by reason of any servitude forever.

We will, moreover, and concede that he and his heirs shall hold the messuages,[1] land, rents, and meadows in Wythington which his ancestors held from us, and our predecessors, by giving and performing the fine which is called *merchet* for giving his daughter in marriage, and tallage[2] from year to year according to our will,—and that he shall have and hold these for the future from us, and our successors freely, quietly, peacefully, and hereditarily, by paying to us and our successors yearly 40s. sterling, at the four terms of the year, namely: at St John the Baptist's day 10s., at Michaelmas 10s., at Christmas 10s., and at Easter 10s., for all service, exaction, custom and secular demand; saving to us, nevertheless, attendance at our court of Castre every three weeks, wardship and relief,

[1] Houses.

[2] A tax paid by the occupier of certain kinds of land at the will of the lord.

and outside service of our lord the King, when they shall happen. . . .

Given at Borough, for the love of lord Robert of good memory, once abbot, our predecessor and maternal uncle of the said William, and at the instance of the good man, Brother Hugh of Mutton, relative of the said abbot Robert, A.D. 1278, on the eve of Pentecost.

3. A SUMMONS TO PARLIAMENT BY EDWARD I. [A.D. 1295]

SOURCE: Stubbs, *Select Charters.*

The King to the Sheriff of Northamptonshire:

Since we intend to have a consultation and meeting with the earls, barons and other principal men of our kingdom with regard to providing remedies against the dangers which are in these days threatening the same kingdom, and on that account have commanded them to be with us on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, at Westminster, to consider, ordain, and do as may be necessary for the avoidance of those dangers, we strictly require you to cause two knights from the aforesaid county, two citizens from each city in the same county, and two burgesses from each borough, of those who are especially discreet and capable of labouring, to be elected without delay, and to cause them to come to us at the aforesaid time and place.

Moreover, the said knights are to have full and sufficient power for themselves and for the community of the aforesaid county, and the said citizens and burgesses for themselves, and the communities of the aforesaid cities and boroughs separately, then and there, for doing what shall then be ordained according to the common council in the premises; so that the aforesaid business shall not remain unfinished in any way for defect of this power. And you shall have

there the names of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, together with this writ.

Witness the King, at Canterbury, on the 3rd of October.

4. SOME ARTICLES OF COMMERCE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY [A.D. 1305]

SOURCE: The Patent Roll, *Pontage for London* for the year 1305, translated in *The Chronicles of London Bridge* by An Antiquary.

The King [Edward I.] to his beloved the Mayor and Sheriffs, and to his other Citizens of London,—Greeting.

Know ye, that in aid of repairing and sustaining the Bridge of London, we grant that from the day of making these presents, until the complete end of the three years next following, the underwritten Customs shall, for that purpose, be taken of saleable goods over the Bridge aforesaid, and of those which cross under the same, that is to say:

Of every *poise*, or weight of cheese [256 lbs.], fat of tallow, and butter for sale, one penny. Of every poise of lead for sale, one farthing. Of every hundred of wax for sale, twopence. Of every hundred of almonds and rice for sale, one penny. Of every hundred of barley corn for sale, one penny. Of every hundred of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, Brazil-wood, frankincense, quicksilver, vermillion and verdigrease for sale, twopence. Of every hundred of alum, sugar, liquorice, aniseed for sale, one penny. Of every hundred of sulphur, ink, resin, cofferas for sale, one farthing. Of every frail [basket] of figs and raisins for sale, one halfpenny; and of every smaller frail, one farthing. Of every pound of dates, musk nuts, mace, saffron and cotton for sale, one farthing. Of every stone butt of ginger for sale, one penny. Of every hundred weight of copper, brass, tin for sale, one halfpenny. Of every hundred weight of glass for sale, one farthing. Of every thousand of the best grey

squirrel skins dressed for sale, twelve pennies. Of every thousand of red-skins dressed for sale, six pence. Of every hundred of rabbits for sale, one halfpenny. For every *timbria* [*i.e.* a certain number of precious skins] of wolves' skins for sale, one halfpenny. For every *timbria* of coats for sale, one halfpenny. For every hundredth sheep-skin of wool for sale, one penny. For every hundredth lamb-skin and goat-skin for sale, one halfpenny. Of every twelfth *alicum* [a kind of vest with sleeves] for sale, one penny. Of every twelfth *Basane* [any article made of tanned leather], for sale, one halfpenny. Of every quarter of woad [blue dye] for sale, one halfpenny. Of every *dole* [cask] of honey for sale, sixpence. Of every dole of wine, sixpence. Of every dole of corn, crossing over the Bridge, the same going into countries beyond the sea, one penny. Of every bowl of salt for sale, one penny. Of every millstone for grinding for sale, twopence. Of every twelfth handmill for sale, one penny. Of every smith's mill [grindstone] for sale, one farthing. Of every dole of ashes of fish for sale, one halfpenny. Of every hundredth board of oak, coming from parts beyond the seas for sale, one halfpenny. Of every hundred of fir boards coming from parts beyond the seas for sale, twopence. Of every twenty sheafs of wooden staves and arrow heads, for sale, one halfpenny. For all horses laden with serge, stuff, grey cloth and dyed cloth for sale, one penny. Of every hundred ells of linen cloth, coming from parts beyond the sea for sale, one penny. Of every twelfth peplum [mantle or carpet] for sale, one halfpenny. Of every silk or gold cloth for sale, one halfpenny. Of all satins and cloths worked with gold, twopence. Of every twelfth piece of fustian for sale, one penny. Of every piece of sendal [thin Cyprus silk] embroidered, for sale, one farthing. Of every hundred pounds weight of *Bateria* [beaten work of metal] namely of basin, platters, drinking-pots and cups for sale, one penny. Of all Flanders cloth

bound and embroidered, for sale, twopence. Of every twelfth pairs of nether-stocks, for sale, coming from the same parts, one halfpenny. Of every hood for sale, one penny. Of every piece of Borrell [coarse cloth] coming from Normandy, or elsewhere, one halfpenny. Of every twelfth Monk's cloth, black or white, one penny. Of every trussel cloth [probably horse-cloth] for sale, the same coming from parts beyond the seas, eighteenpence. Of all English dyed cloth and russet for sale, except scarlet, crossing the Bridge for the selling of the same, twopence. Of all scarlets for sale, sixpence. Of all thin, or summer cloth, for sale, coming from Stamford or Northampton, or from other places in England, crossing the same, one penny. Of every twelfth *chalon* [carpet or hangings] set for sale, one penny. Of every pound of other merchandise for sale, crossing the same and not expressed above, fourpence. Of every ship-load of sea coal for sale, sixpence. Of every ship-load of turf for sale, twopence. Of every load of underwood for sale, twopence. Of every small boat-load of hay for sale, twopence. Of every quarter of corn for sale, crossing the same, one farthing. For a quarter of a *seme* [horse load or eight bushels] of oats for sale, one penny. For two quarters of groats and brewers grains for sale, one farthing. For every horse for sale of a price less than forty shillings, one halfpenny. For every ox or cow for sale, one halfpenny. For six swine for sale, one halfpenny. For ten sheep for sale, one halfpenny. For five bacon-hogs for sale, one halfpenny. Of every small boat which works in London for hire and crosses by the same, one penny. Of every cart freighted with fish for sale, crossing the same, one penny. For the hull of every great ship freighted with goods for sale, excepting these present, crossing by the same, twopence. For the hull of every smaller ship freighted with the same goods, excepting these present, one penny. For every little boat laden, one halfpenny. For every twelfth salted

salmon for sale, one penny. For one hundred salted haddocks for sale, one halfpenny. For one hundred salted mackerel for sale, one farthing. For every thousand of salted herrings for sale, one farthing. For every twelfth salted lamprey for sale, one penny. Of every thousand salted eels for sale, one halfpenny. Of every hundred pounds of large fish for sale, one penny. Of every hundred pieces of sturgeon for sale, twopence. For every horse-load of onions for sale, one farthing. For every horse-load of garlic for sale, one farthing. And of every kind of merchandise not here mentioned, of the price of twenty shillings, one penny. And, therefore, we command you, that the said customs be taken, until the aforesaid term of three years be completed; but at that term the aforesaid customs shall cease, and be altogether taken away. In which, etc., for their lasting the term aforesaid. Witness the King, at Winchester, the seventh day of May. By writ of Privy Seal.

5. EXTRACTS FROM AN EARLY COURT ROLL [A.D. 1307]

SOURCE: Court Roll 153, 68 from the translation in Hone's *Manor and Manorial Records.*

Court of Brightwaltham [1] held on the day of the Annunciation of Blessed Mary the first year of Edward II.

Adam, son of Ralph Felix for default at the Lawday; in mercy [2] by pledge of Ralph Felix.

John Messager for the same; in mercy by pledge of Ralph Teylour.

Avyce le Wynd because she does not prosecute against John le Nywe, in mercy by pledge of William Fulke, John atte Cruche (Cross) in mercy for a trespass made on William Fulkes by taking and carrying away a harrow of said

[1] A manor in Sussex belonging to Battle Abbey.

[2] Liable to a fine.

William and detaining it for 3 days whereby the land of the said William lies unharrowed to his damage, and which said trespass he could not deny, but acknowledged same, by pledge of John Newe.

William Fulkes complains of John atte Cross of this, that whereas the said John had sometime granted to aforesaid William 1 acre of land for a term of 10 years, of which term 8 years had gone, and 2 years are to come, the said William had driven his plough to the said land to till it and to make his hay. The said John comes with force and arms and drives away the plough of aforesaid William from the said land, and impeaches him against the covenant between them made, and ejects him from his farm to his damage, etc. And aforesaid John come and says that he did not deliver of grant the said acre to the said William of his freewill, but because it was neglected and poor land, the said William retained the said land in his hands by might, because he was the lord's bailiff. And the said John did not dare to contradict him nor eject him from the said land until the time of sowing last past, and then he ejected him as was lawful to him, and has done him no injury therein. And they speak contrary and put themselves on an inquisiting of 12 jurors. And the jurors say that the said John of his mere and free will granted to the said William the said acre of land for a term of ten years in return for the costs and expenses expended on the said land, and the said John by agreement with him and Warren Wynd delivers (the land) to Sir J. de Watlington; it is considered that the said William shall have the land for 2 years.

. . . . . .

John Dainsere in mercy for damage done in the lord's wood by breaking and cutting down the lord's thorns on the heath, by pledge. Sum 42d.

Court House, Long Crendon

Seal of the Lord Mayor of London

6. A GLIMPSE AT LONDON AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

(a) *The Keeping of the Peace in the City of London* [*circa.* A.D. 1309]

SOURCE: Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London. Ed. Sharpe.

Articles confirmed by the lord the King touching the state of the City and the strict observance of the peace, which articles are sealed with the Great Seal of the King.

These are the articles which our lord the King commands to be kept in his city of London for the preservation of his peace. Firstly, that whereas murders, robberies, and homicides have in times past been committed in the city by night and day, it is forbidden that any one walk the streets after curfew tolled at St Martin le Grand with sword, buckler, or other arm unless he be a great lord, or other respectable person of note, or their acknowledged retainer, bearing a light; and if any be found doing the contrary they are to be committed to the Tower, and the next day brought before the Warden or Mayor and Aldermen, and punished accordingly. No taverner to keep his tavern open for wine or beer after curfew, nor admit any one into his tavern, nor into his house, unless he is willing to answer for the King's peace, under penalties named. No one to keep a fencing school by night or day, under pain of imprisonment for forty days, And whereas murderers who have been arrested are often treated too leniently, to the encouragement of others, it is ordained that no prisoner be released by a Sheriff or his officer without the cognisance of the Warden or Mayor and the Aldermen; and that each Alderman, make diligent search in his Ward for misdoers, and if any such be found, to bring them before the Warden or Mayor and the Aldermen for due punishment if proved

guilty of the charges brought against them. No foreigner nor stranger to keep hostel within the City, but only those who are freemen of the City, or who can produce a good character from the place whence they have come, and are ready to find sureties for good behaviour. No broker to be allowed in the City except those that are sworn before the Warden or Mayor and the Aldermen. And if any broker or hosteler be found, in contravention of these ordinances, after one month from the date of publication of the same, they are to be arrested and punished in manner prescribed. . . .

(b) *Some "Disturbers of the King's Peace"* [A.D. 1310]

SOURCE: Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London. Ed. Sharpe.

The Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen proceeded to make inquisition.

John de Lorymer attached, for that he is indicted in the Ward of Bradestreet as a misdoer and a common bruiser, wandering about by night to attack freemen and strangers, contrary to the peace of the lord the King. Also, because he is indicted in the Ward of Bassieshaw as a disturber of the King's peace, and as a doer of many evil things, contrary to the peace, etc. He appeared, and being asked how he would acquit himself thereof, he says he is no way guilty, and puts himself upon the country, etc. And the jury, by Adam Rugge and others, come and say on their oath that the said John de Lorymer is guilty of the trespasses aforesaid. Therefore he is committed to prison, etc.

. . . . . .

Oliver de "Maltone" attached because indicted in the Wards of Chepe, Tower, and Creplegate for similar practices, as well as for enticing men to taverns for gambling purposes. Found guilty and committeed to prison.

. . . . . .

Thomas, son of Thomas de "Boloyngne" attached because indicted in the Wards of Tower, Langbene, Billinggesgate, Bridge, Bassieshaw and elsewhere, for various offences and for beating the watch in the Ward of Billinggesgate, by procuration of Stephen, the Clerk of St. Mary "atte belle." Pleads not guilty, and puts himself on the country. The jury by Adam and others find him guilty of having assaulted the watch in the Ward of Billinggesgate in Christmas week, anno 4 Edward II., but acquit him of other charges. Therefore, he is committed to prison for his attack on the watch, etc., and is quit as to the other articles, etc.

. . . . . .

John de Rokester attached because indicted in the Wards of Vintry, Crepelgate, and elsewhere as frequenting taverns . . . and as having no business whereby to maintain himself nor private means, as they (the accusers) understand, and yet is well clothed etc. He pleads not guilty. . . . Is found guilty and committed, etc.

. . . . . .

Master Roger le Skirmisour attached because indicted for holding a school for fencing and drawing young men together, sons of respectable parents, to the wasting of their property and the injury of their characters. Pleads not guilty. . . . Found guilty and committed.

. . . . . .

John Baroun attached because indicted in the Ward of Bassieshaw for keeping open house at night, and receiving night walkers and dice players; and John Vantort attached because indicted in the same Ward as being of ill fame. Pleads not guilty. . . . Found not guilty, therefore, let them be therefore quit.

. . . . . .

Henry de Kirkelly attached because indicted in the Ward

of Bisshoppesgate as a receiver of strangers who wound men and afterwards return home. Pleads not guilty. . . . Found not guilty.

(c) *The Oath of Searchers of Vintners*

SOURCE: Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London. Ed. Sharpe.

Ye shall swear that ye will well and truly survey all the wines cellared for sale within the franchise of the City of London, and then prove and assay in the presence and survey of the Serjeants to you committed and deputes by the Mayor and Aldermen of the said city that they [*i.e.* the wines] be wholesome and able for man's body, and what ye shall find stinking and unsound ye will without concealment present to the Mayor and Aldermen, to be adjudged according to the ancient custom of the said city. And that ye shall certify to the Mayor and Aldermen the number of vessels containing old wine lying in the cellars aforesaid, neither sparing nor aggrieving any one for favour or hate. And that all pots of tin that ye shall find not sealed in taverns ye will without concealment present to the Chamber. These things aforesaid ye shall well and truly do, so God you help, and His Saints.

(d) *The Oath of a Freeman of the City of London* [circa A.D. 1309]

SOURCE: Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London. Ed. Sharpe.

Ye shall swear that ye shall be faithful and loyal unto our lord the King, King of England, and to his heirs Kings, and be obedient to the Mayor and Ministers that keep the City, and the franchises and customs of the city ye shall maintain according to your power, and the said City as

much as in you is ye shall keep harmless, and partners shall ye be in all charges touching the City, as in summonses, contributions, watches, tallages, and other charges, like other freemen of the City. Ye shall not avow [1] as your own the goods of foreigners, whereby the King may lose his custom. Ye shall take no apprentice for less than seven years, and ye shall cause him to be enrolled as such within the first year of your covenant, and at the end of his term, if he has well and loyally served you, ye shall cause his years to be enrolled. And if you know of any stranger trafficking in the City, you will warn the Chamberlain or the Serjeants of the Chamber. Ye shall not implead any man who is of the franchise of the City outside the same City, if able to obtain redress before the Ministers of the City. And if ye shall know of any assembly or congregation made contrary to the peace, ye shall warn the Mayor for the time being. And ye shall take no apprentice unless he be a freeman and not a bondsman. All which points aforesaid ye shall well and truly keep, so God you help and His Saints.

(e) *The Qualifications for a Lord Mayor*

SOURCE: Riley, *Memorials*, II.

The first is, what Aristotle says—that by long experience of many things men become wise, and long experience no man can have, except through a long life. Then it appears that a young man cannot be wise, even if so be that he is of a good capacity for gaining knowledge. And for this it is that Solomon says—that evil is it for the land which has a young king. And nevertheless, a man may be of great

[1] An offence known as "colouring" goods, whereby merchant strangers to facilitate the sale of their goods endeavoured to persuade a freeman to "avow" them as his own.

age and of little sense; wherefore the burghers ought to choose such a sovereign [governor] as is not young in the one or in the other.

The second is, that they have regard, not to the power of him or his kindred, but to the nobleness of his heart, and to the honourableness of his manners and of his life, and to his virtuous works that he knows how to do in his house, and in his other jurisdictions. For the house ought to be honoured for the good lord, and not the lord for the good house, and nevertheless, if he is noble in power and in heart, as well as in kindred, certes he is worth the more for it is all things.

The third is, that he have justice, for Tully says, that sense without justice is not sense, but malevolence, and that nothing can avail without justice.

The fourth thing is, that he have good ability and subtle understanding to apprehend all the truth in things, and to understand and to know readily that which is for the best, and to perceive the reason of things. For it is a disastrous thing to be deceived through poverty of knowledge.

The fifth is, that he be strong and stable from greatness of heart, not from malevolence or from vainglory; and that he do not readily believe the sayings of all. Once there was a city, of which no one could be ruler but the best, and so long as this custom lasted, there happened to the community nothing but good; forasmuch as he ought to be honoured as highly as he is worth, who thinks not more of himself than he is worth. For a person ought not to be held as a reputable man for his dignity, but for his works. The wise man loves better to be a lord, than to seem it.

The sixth is, that he be not covetous of money, or led by his other inclinations. For these are two things that cast the sovereign from his throne; and it is a very dis-

honourable thing that he who does not allow himself to be moved by fear should be biassed by money; and that he who does not allow himself to be overcome by great labour, should be overcome by his inclination. But greatly ought a man to be on his guard that he be not too desirous of acquiring dignity; for many a time does it happen that such persons are not the most fit.

The seventh is, that he be a good speaker. For it is of importance to a governor that he speak better than any one else; seeing that all the world holds for wise him who wisely speaks. But above all things, it is necessary that he take care not to speak too much; because in talking too much there is no lack of error. And as a single string untunes all the lyre, just so by one unhappy word is overthrown the honour resulting from all reason.

The eighth is, that he be not extravagant in expenditure, not a spender or waster of his substance.

The ninth is, that he be not too irritable, and that he continue not too long in his wrath, or in his indignation. For wrath that has its habitation in authority is like unto a thunderbolt, in that it lets not the truth be known or rightful judgment be given.

The tenth is, that he be rich and magnanimous. For if he is adorned with other virtues, it is only seemly that he be not corrupted with money. And still I praise rather the good poor man than the bad rich man.

The eleventh is, that he hold no other office. For it is not credible that one man shall be sufficient for two such things, or for more than the government of many persons.

The twelfth is the chief of all; that he keep righteous faith with God, and with the people. For without faith and loyalty, right is never preserved.

(f) *Some City Ordinances*

SOURCE: Riley, *Memorials*, III.

Boats.

That Ships and Boats which come by Thames with victuals shall lie one day in peace without selling aught.

Refuse.

That no one shall throw dung, rubbish, gravel, or other refuse into the Thames, nor shall throw water, or other thing, from the windows, but shall carry the same into the streets.

That all the Lanes leading unto the Thames, between Castle Baynard and the Tower, shall be cleansed of all dung and rubbish; and the Punishment of those who place the same there. . . .

That each person shall make clear of filth the front of his house under penalty of half a mark.

Streets.

That Penthouses, Gutters and Jettees shall be so high that persons may ride beneath, and at least nine feet in height.

That Stalls shall not be more than two feet and a half in breadth and moveable.

That defects in the walls shall be repaired.

That Pavements shall be mended and all refuse removed.

That Bars and Chains shall be made in all the Streets, and more especially towards the water at the Friars Preachers [Blackfriars].

Swine.

That no Swine shall be found going about in the City, or in the Fosses thereof.

That such pigstyes as are in the streets shall be removed; and if any swine be found in the streets, let them be forfeited.

Beggars.

That no one who can gain his sustenance by labour, shall go about begging.

That no Leper shall be wandering about, or begging within the City.

That all Mendicants who can work shall be arrested.

Gate Watches.

That the Gates shall be well kept.

That good Watches shall be kept in each Ward.

That Ward shall be kept every night.

That no one shall go at Christmas with a false face.

7. COST OF FOOD. EDWARD II'S REIGN [A.D. 1314]

SOURCE: Stow, *Annals.*

There assembled a Parliament at London to treat of the state of the Kingdom, and how to bring down the price of victuals,that were now grown to be so dear, that the common people were not able to live. It was therefore ordained, and the King's Writs were published for prices of victuals; that the best ox, not fed with corn, should be sold for 16s. and no more; and, if he was fed with corn, then for 24s. at most; the best live cow for 12s.; a fat hog, of two years old, for 3s. 4d.; a fat wether or mutton, unshorn for 20d., or shorn, for 14d.; a fat goose for 2½d.; a fat capon for 2d.; a fat hen for 1d.; two chickens for 1d.; four pigeons

for 1d.; and twenty-four eggs for 1d. And those who would not sell the things for these rates were to forfeit them to the King.

(*N.B.*—These prices should be multiplied by at least twenty, to enable a comparison to be made with our money.)

8. THE EXPENSES OF AN EARL'S HOUSEHOLD [A.D. 1315]

SOURCE: Stow, *Survey of London*. Ed. Morley.

To touch somewhat of greater families and households kept in former times by noblemen and great estates of this realm, according to their honours and dignities, I have seen an account made by H. Leicester, cofferer to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, for one whole year's expenses in the Earl's home, from the day next after Michaelmas, in the seventh year of Edward II. until Michaelmas in the eighth year of the same king, amounting to the sum of £7,957, 13s. 4½d., as followeth:

To wit, in the pantry, buttery and kitchen, £3,405, etc.; for one hundred and eighty four tuns, one pipe of red and claret wine, and one tun of white wine bought for the house, £104, 17s. 6d.

For grocery ware £180, 17s.

For six barrels of sturgeon, £19.

For six thousand, eight hundred stock fishes, so called for dried fishes of all sorts, as lings, haberdines (salt cod), and other, £41, 6s. 7d.

For one thousand, seven hundred and fourteen pounds of wax, with vermilion and turpentine to make red wax, £314, 7s. 4½d.

For two thousand three hundred and nineteen pounds of tallow candles for the household, and one thousand eight hundred and seventy of lights for Paris candles, called perchers (a large wax candle), £31, 14s. 3d.

Expenses in the earl's great horses, and the keeper's wages, £486, 4s. 3¼d.

Linen cloth for the earl and his chaplains, and for the pantry, £43, 17s.

For one hundred and twenty nine dozen of parchment, with ink, £4, 8s. 3¼d.

Sum, £5,230, 17s. 7¼d.

Item, for two cloths of scarlet for the earl against Christmas, one cloth of russet for the Bishop of Anjew, seventy cloths of blue for the knights (as they were then termed), fifteen cloths for officers, nineteen cloths for grooms, five cloths for archers, four cloths for minstrels and carpenters, with the sharing and carriage for the earl's liveries at Christmas, £460, 15s.

Item, for seven furs of variable miniver [or powdered ermine], seven hoods of purple, three hundred and ninety-five furs of budge [lambskin] for the liveries of barons, knights, and clerks, one hundred and twenty-three furs of lambs for esquires, bought at Christmas, £147, 17s. 8d.

Item, sixty-five cloths, saffron colour, for the barons and knights in summer, twelve red cloths, mixed, for clerks, twenty-six cloths, ray,[1] for esquires, one cloth, ray, for officers' coats in summer, and four cloths, ray, for carpets in the hall, for £345, 13s. 8d.

Item, one hundred pieces of green silk for the knights, fourteen budge furs for surcoats, thirteen hoods of budge for clerks, and seventy-five furs of lambs for the lords' liveries in summer, with canvas and cords to truss them, £72, 19s.

Item, saddles for the lords' liveries in summer, £51, 6s. 8d.

Item, one saddle for the earl of the prince's arms, 40s.

Sum, £1,079, 18s. 3d.

Item for things bought, whereof cannot be read in my note, £241, 14s. 1¼d.

For horses lost in service of the earl, £8, 6s. 8d.

[1] Ray = striped.

Fees paid to earls, barons, knights and esquires, £623, 15s. 5d.

In gifts to knights of France, the Queen of England's nurses, to the Countess of Warren, esquires, minstrels, messengers, and riders, £92, 14s.

Item, one hundred and sixty-eight yards of russet cloth, and twenty-four coats for poor men, with money given to the poor on Maundy Thursday, £8, 16s. 7d.

Item, twenty-four silver dishes, so many saucers and so many cups for the buttery, one pair of paternosters, and one silver coffin, bought this year, £103, 5s. 6d.

To divers messengers about the Earl's business, £34, 19s. 8d.

In the Earl's chamber, £5.

To divers men for the Earl's old debts, £86, 16s. $0\frac{3}{4}$d.

Sum, £1,207, 7s. $11\frac{3}{4}$d.

The expenses of the Countess of Pickering for the time of this account, as in the pantry, buttery, kitchen, and other places, concerning these offices, £285, 13s. $6\frac{1}{2}$d.

In wine, wax, spices, cloths, fur, and other things for the Countess' wardrobe, £154, 7s. $4\frac{1}{2}$d.

Sum, £437, 8s. $6\frac{1}{4}$d.

Sum total of the whole expenses, £7,957, 13s. $4\frac{1}{2}$d.

Thus much for this Earl of Lancaster.

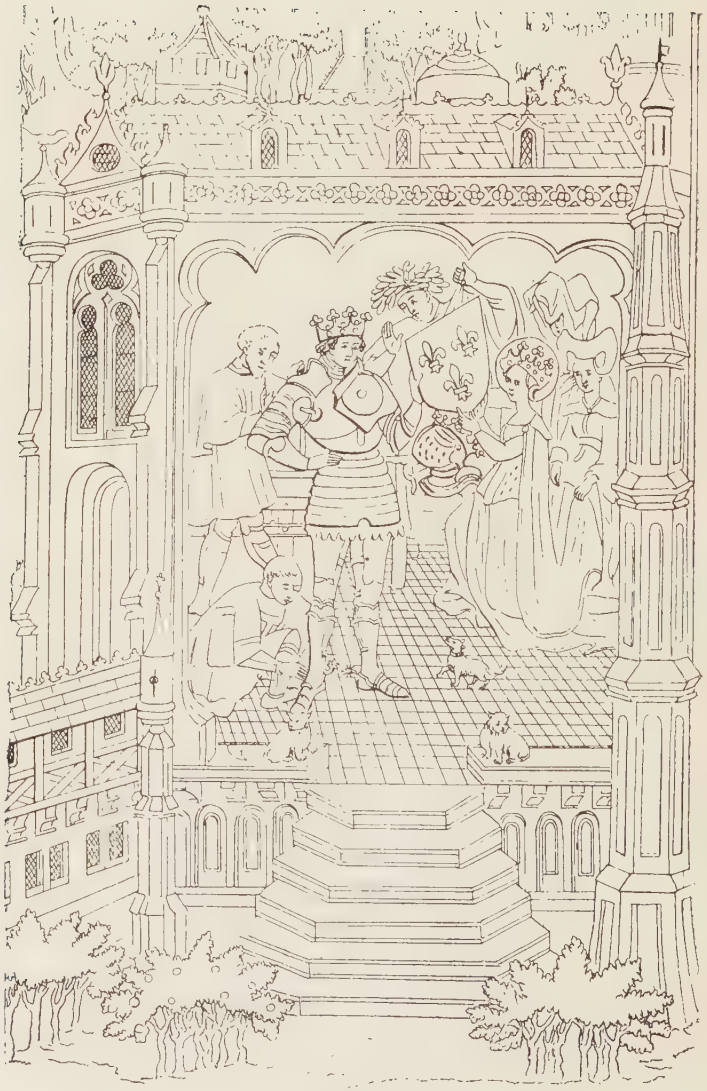
9. A KING'S ORDER FOR CLOTHES [A.D. 1321]

SOURCE: Letter from Edward II. to his Treasurer, quoted in *King's Letters.*

Edward, by the grace of God, etc.

We command that ye provide sixteen pieces of cloth for the apparel of ourselves, and our dear companion, also furs, against the next feast of Christmas, and thirteen pieces of cloth for corsets for our said companion and her damsels, with napery, and other things of which we stand in

Medieval Domestic Life



A Medieval Knight

need, against the said feast; requiring you to assign to William Cassonces, the Clerk of our Wardrobe, one hundred and fifteen pounds, in said manner as may obtain prompt payment of the same for this purpose.

Given at Langley, the 10th day of December, and of our reign the 15th.

10. THE DEGRADATION OF A KNIGHT [A.D. 1322]

SOURCE: Stow, *Annals.*

Andrew de Herkeley late made Earl of Carlyle, under colour of peace, fayned that he would marry Robert Bruse his sister. Whereupon, the King [Edward II.], reputing him to be a Traytour, caused him to bee taken by his trustie friend Syr Anthony de Lucie, who sent him in yrons strayght to London, where hee was judged before Syr Anthony de Lucy in this manner. Hee was ledde to the Barre as an earle, worthily apparelled, with his sword girt about him, hosed, booted and spurred, etc. Unto whom Syr Anthony spake in this manner: "Syr Andrew" (quoth he), "the King, for thy valiant service, hath done thee great honour, and made thee Earle of Carlisle; since which tyme, thou as traytor to thy Lord the Kyng, leddest his people, that should have holpe him at the battall of Beighland, awaie by the Country of Copland, and through the Earldom of Lancaster; by which means, our Lorde the King was discomfited there of the Scottes, through thy treason and falsenesse; whereas if thou haddest come betimes, he hadde had the victorie; and this treason thou committedst, for ye great summe of golde and silver that thou receivedst from James Dowglasse, a Scot, the King's enemy. Our Lord the King will therefore, that the order of Knighthood, by the which thou receivedst all thy honour, and worship uppon thy bodie, be brought to nought, and thy state

undone ; that other knights of lower degree may, after thee, beware, and take example truely to serve."

Then commanded he to hewe his spurres from his heeles, then to breake his sword over his head, which the King had given him, to keepe and defend his land therewith, when he made him Earle, after this, he let unclothe him of his furred Tabard, and of his Hoode, of his Coat of Armes, and also of his Girdle ; and when this was done, Sir Anthony sayde unto him, "Andrewe," (quoth he), "now art thou no Knight, but a Knave, and for thy treason, the King will that thou shalt be hanged and drawne, and thine head smitten off thy bodie, thy bowelles taken out of thy bodie and burned before thee, and thy bodie quartered; and thy head being smitted off, afterwarde to bee set uppon London Bridge, and thy foure quarters shall bee sent unto foure good townes of England, that all others may beware by thee! And as Anthony Lucy hadde sayde, so was it done in all things, on the last daie of October.

11. PARENTAL ADVICE FROM A KING [A.D. 1326]

SOURCE: Letter from Edward II. to his son, Edward, quoted in *King's Letters.*

Edward, fair Son,—We have seen, by your letter lately written to us, that you well remember the charges we enjoined you on your departure from Dover, and that you have not transgressed our commands in any point that was in your power to avoid. But to us it appears that you do not keep covenant nor have you humbly obeyed our commands as a good son ought his father, since you have not returned to us, to be under government. . . . Also, we understand that you, through counsel, which is contrary both to our interest and yours, have proceeded to make divers alterations, injunctions and ordinances, without our advice, and contrary to our orders, in the Duchy of

Guienne, which we have given you; but you ought to remember the conditions of the gift; and your reply when it was conferred upon you at Dover. These things are inconvenient, and must be most injurious. Therefore, we command and charge you, on the faith and love you ought to bear us, and on our blessing, that you show yourself our dear and well beloved son, as you have aforetime done; and ceasing from all excuses of your mother, or any like those that you have just written, you come to us here with all haste, that we may ordain for you and your estate as honourably as you can desire. By right and reason, you ought to have no other governor than us, neither should you wish to have.

Also, fair son, we charge you by no means to marry, till you return to us, nor without our advice and consent.

Edward, fair son, while you are of tender age, take our commandments tenderly to heart, and so rule your conduct with humility, as you would escape our reproach, our grief, and indignation, and advance your own interest and honour. Believe no counsel that is contrary to the will of your father, as the wise King Solomon instructs you. . . . Understand certainly, that if you now act contrary to our counsel, and continue in wilful disobedience, we shall take order in such wise that you will feel it all the days of your life, and all other sons will take example to be disobedient to their lords and fathers.

12. "LONG-BEARDED SOLDIERS" [A.D. 1327]

SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, II.

At the same time, because the English souldiers of this armie (1327) were cloathed all in cotes and hoods embrodered with floures and branches very seemelie, and used to nourish their beards; the Scots in derision thereof made a rime, which they fastened upon the church

doores of Saint Peter toward Stangate, conteining this that followeth :—

> "Longbeards, hartless ; painted hoods, witlesse ;
> Gaiecoats, gracelesse ; make England thriftlesse."

13. THE SAFE CONVOY OF WOOL [A.D. 1338]

SOURCE : Rymer, *Fœdera*, V.

The King [Edward III.] to his well-beloved and faithful servant, Walter de Ranny, Admiral of the Fleet from the mouth of the river Thames northwards, greeting :

Seeing that certain weighty and important business has taken place between our representatives over sea, and the noble Duke of Brabant, our Kinsman, and some merchants of his duchy ; and among other matters it was agreed that the merchants of the said duchy staying within our Kingdom should be permitted to betake themselves to their own districts, within a certain time, freely and without hindrance, with their merchandise, and carry with them two thousand two hundred bags of wool, which does not fall within the statute recently made with regard to the taking of wool within the realm for our own use. . . .

We hereby order you to prepare, man and otherwise equip as many ships as may be necessary for the safe convoy of the wool, and have them brought equipped and fitted to the port of Ipswich immediately ; and we order you to see that the ships containing the cargo of wool proceed to Brabant under a safe and secure escort. April 28.

14. REGULATIONS REGARDING WEAVERS [A.D. 1339]

SOURCE : Rymer, *Fœdera* V.

The King [Edward III.] to the mayor and officers of his town of Bristol, greeting :

Whereas, of late with the assent of the bishops, earls, barons and others in parliament assembled, it was ordained and agreed that wool should be made into cloth within our realm, and that all those who wished to make cloth of this kind should be able to do so in certain places within our realm without let or hindrance; and that now from Thomas Blanket and certain others of your town we have heard that, though they, in accordance with our proclamation, have set up in their homes different instruments for the weaving and making of cloth, and have engaged weavers and other workmen for this purpose; you, paying no regard to these facts, demand divers sums of money from them when their instruments were finished and set up, and harass and annoy them—as they maintain—to their no small expense, and against the terms of our proclamation. . . .

We, being assured that our proclamation, if observed, may prove of service to us and our people, and desiring that the aforesaid Thomas and others wishing to make cloth in this way, should be protected from wrong and undue impositions,

Order you to allow the said Thomas and others desiring to make cloth in this way, to have their instruments for weaving and making cloth set up in their own homes, and keep their workmen there with no hindrance, charge, or undue imposition whatever . . . provided always that the customs and other charges due to us, if any, be paid to us, as is proper.

15. PENALTIES FOR A BREACH OF THE PEACE [A.D. 1340]

SOURCE: Riley, *Memorials of London*, III.

Also, the better to preserve the peace of our Lord the King, and that each may fear the more to break the peace, it is ordained that if any one shall draw a sword, . . . or knife,

even though he do not strike therewith, he shall pay to the City half a mark, or remain in the prison of Newgate fifteen days. And if he shall draw blood of any one, let him pay to the City twenty shillings, or remain in the said prison forty days. And if he strike any one with the fist, but do not draw blood, let him pay to the City two shillings, or be imprisoned eight days; and if he draw blood with the fist, let him pay to the City forty pence, or be imprisoned twelve days. And let such trespassers find good surety, before their release, for their good behaviour; but nevertheless, let him, upon whom the offence has been committed, have his recovery (or damages) by process of law. And let such offences in reference to bloodshed, against the peace of our Lord the King, be tried from day to day before the sheriffs, without any essoin [1] or delay thereon according as shall be most convenient, of whatever condition the party may happen to be.

16. A CITY TOLL [A.D. 1340]

SOURCE: Riley, *Memorials*, I.

A cart, on entering the City or going forth, shall pay for Pavage, one penny; a laden horse, one farthing; a cart that brings sands and potter's clay, three pence per week; a cart with corn and flour from Stratford, three pence per week; carts with firewood on sale, shall pay one farthing; and with charcoal on sale, one penny. But carts and horses of the great and of others, which bring their victuals or other goods for their use and for consumption in their houses shall pay nothing.

[1] Excuses for not appearing.

17. THE FARE OF A FARMER IN EDWARD III'S REIGN [A.D. 1346]

SOURCE: William Langland, *Piers Plowman*. Ed. Burrell (*Everyman's Library*).

Says Piers, "I have no penny
No, neither goose nor pig
A few curds, a little cream,
And two loaves of beans and bran
And, by my soul, I say
No nor a cook boy
But I have parsley, cabbage, leeks,
And a mare to draw the dung afield
And on this living we must live
By then I hope to have
Then may I do thee thy dinner
But all the poor people
Their beans and baken apples
Onions and salads,
And prepared Piers this present
pullets for to buy,
but only two green cheeses,
and a haver[1]-cake,
baked for my little ones;
I have no salt bacon,
collops to make.
and a cow and a calf
while the drought lasteth;
till Lammas[2] time,
harvest in my croft,
as I fain would do."
fetched their peascods[3]
they brought them in their laps,
and many ripe cherries,
to please Hunger withal.

18. A LONDON GILD [A.D. 1347]

SOURCE: Riley, *Memorials*, I.

The points of the Articles touching the trade of Hatmakers, accepted by Thomas Leggy, Mayor, and the Aldermen of the City of London, at the suit, and at the request of the folks of the said trade.

In the first place,—that six men of the most lawful and most befitting of the said trade shall be assigned and sworn to rule and watch the trade in such a manner as other trades of the said city are ruled and watched by their wardens.

Also,—that no one shall make or sell any manner of hats within the franchise of the city aforesaid, if he be not free of the same city; on pain of forfeiting to the chamber the hats which he shall have made and offered for sale.

Also,—that no one shall be made apprentice in the said trade for a less term than seven years, and that, without

[1] Unleavened. [2] August 1st. [3] Pea-pods.

fraud or collusion. And he, who shall receive any apprentice in any other manner, shall lose his freedom, until he shall have bought it back again.

Also,—that no one of the said trade shall take any apprentice, if he be not himself a freeman of the said city.

Also,—that the wardens of the said trade shall make their searches for all manner of hats that are for sale within the said franchise, so often as need shall be. And that the aforesaid wardens shall have power to take all manner of hats that they shall find defective and not befitting, and to bring them before the Mayor and Aldermen of London, that so the defaults which shall be found may be punished by their award.

Also,—where some workmen in the said trade have made hats that are not befitting, in deceit of the common people, from which great scandal, shame, and loss have often arisen to the good folks of the said trade, they pray that no workmen in the said trade shall do any work by night touching the same, but only in clear daylight; that so, the aforesaid Wardens may openly inspect their work. And he who shall do otherwise, and shall be convicted thereof before the Mayor and Aldermen, shall pay to the Chamber of the Guildhall, the first time, 40d., the second time half a mark, and the third time he shall lose his freedom.

19. THE BLACK DEATH AND ITS EFFECTS [A.D. 1348]

SOURCE: Robert of Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus.* Rolls Series.

The plague, which first began in the country of the Saracens, spread to such a degree that, without sparing any country, it visited with the scourge of sudden death every place in all the kingdoms stretching from that country northwards, even as far as Scotland. Now in England it started in the county of Dorsetshire, about the festival of

St. Peter in Chains,[1] in the year of our Lord, 1348; and immediately spreading with great rapidity from place to place, it attacked between morning and noon a very large number of people in perfect health, and rid them of this mortal life. Not one of these so doomed to death was permitted to live more than three or four days at the most. With the exception perhaps of a few, rich persons of every degree were attacked. On the same day, twenty, forty, sixty, and indeed many more bodies received the rites of burial in the same grave. And about the festival of All Saints,[2] the plague came to London, and killed off many people every day; and it spread to such an extent that, from the feast of the Purification till after Easter, more than two hundred bodies were buried daily in the new cemetery that had just been made near Smithfield, to say nothing of those buried in the other cemeteries of the city. But by the grace of the Holy Spirit it departed from London at Whitsuntide, and went on its way northwards; and it departed thence about the festival of St. Michael, in the year of our Lord, 1349.

SOURCE: Henry Knighton, *Chronicle*, II. Rolls Series.

The grievous plague penetrated the sea coasts from Southampton and came to Bristol, and there almost the whole strength of the town died, struck as it were by sudden death; for there were few who kept their beds more than three days, or two days, or half a day; and after this the fell death broke forth on every side with the course of the sun. There died at Leicester in the small parish of St Leonard more than 380; and in the parish of the Holy Cross more than 400; and so in each parish a great number. . . . In the same year there was a great plague of sheep everywhere in the realm, so that in one place there died in

[1] August 1st. [2] November 1st.

one pasturage more than 5,000 sheep, and so rotted that neither beast nor bird would touch them. And there were small prices for everything on account of the fear of death. For there were very few who cared about riches or anything else. For a man could have a horse which before was worth 40s. for 6s. 8d., a fat ox for 4s., a cow for 12d., a heifer for 6d., a fat wether for 4d., a sheep for 3d., a lamb for 2d., a big pig for 5d., a stone of wool for 9d. Sheep and cattle went wandering over fields and through crops and there was no one to go and drive or father them, so that the number cannot be reckoned which perished in the ditches in every district for lack of herdsmen; for there was such a lack of servants that no one knew what he ought to do.

In the following autumn no one could get a reaper for less than 8d. with his food, a mower for less than 12d. with his food. Wherefore, many crops perished in the fields for want of some one to gather them; but in the pestilence year, as is above said of other things, there was such abundance of all kinds of corn that no one much troubled about it.

. . . Priests were in such poverty that many churches were widowed and lacking the divine offices, masses, matins, vespers, sacraments, and other rites . . but within a short time a very great multitude of those whose wives had died in the pestilence flocked into orders, of whom many were illiterate and little more than laymen, except so far as they knew how to read, although they could not understand.

Meanwhile the King sent proclamation into all the counties that reapers and other labourers should not take more than they had been accustomed to take under the penalty appointed by statute. But the labourers were so lifted up and obstinate that they would not listen to the King's command, but if any wished to have them he had to give them what they wanted, and either lose his fruit and crops or satisfy the lofty and covetous desires of the work-

men . . . after the aforesaid pestilence many buildings, great and small, fell into ruins in every city, borough and village for lack of inhabitants, likewise many villages and hamlets became desolate, all having died who dwelt there.

20. "EVERY MAN SHALL SERVE THE MASTER REQUIRING HIM" [A.D. 1349]

SOURCE: The Statute of Labourers. *Statutes of the Realm*, I, quoted in Henderson's *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages.*

Because a great part of the people, and especially of workmen and servants, lately died of the Pestilence, many seeing the necessity of the masters of great scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they receive excessive wages, and some rather willing to beg in idleness than by labour to get their living. We considering the grievous incommodities, which of the lack, especially of ploughmen and such labourers may hereafter come, have upon deliberation and treaty with the prelates and nobles, and the learned men assisting us, ordained that every man and woman in England of whatever condition they may be, bond or free, able in body and under sixty years of age, not living by merchandise, or being an artificer, and not having property whereby they may live, shall serve the master requiring him or her.

21. REGULATIONS REGARDING PLAGUE FUGITIVES [A.D. 1349]

SOURCE: Rymer, *Fœdera*, V.

The King [Edward III.] to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the town of Sandwich, greeting:

Whereas no small portion of the people of our realm of England hath died during the present plague, and our Treasury hath been greatly exhausted and we are given to understand that many of our people are daily betaking,

and intending to betake, themselves to foreign parts, with money which they may have in our realm: We being advised that, if this exodus be suffered, our realm will soon be void of men as of treasure, and thus from this there might arise great danger to us and our realm, unless some suitable remedy be quickly found therefore;

And being desirous, in view of the dangers which daily threaten those who thus depart over sea, especially the English, to provide for the safety of our realm and people:

We hereby charge you, under the strictest injunctions, on no account to allow to pass over sea, from your port, either openly or secretly except by our special orders, any men at arms, even foreigners, or any others of our realm, or from anywhere else, of what rank or condition soever, unless they be merchants, notaries or accredited ambassadors; and we bid you show such care in this matter that by your evil conduct you be not deserving of punishment at our hands hereafter.

Westminster, December 1.

22. LABOUR CONDITIONS AFTER THE BLACK DEATH [A.D. 1350–1]

SOURCE: *Statutes of the Realm.*

Whereas lately against the malice of servants which were idle, and not willing to serve after the Pestilence, without taking excessive wages, it was ordained that such manner of servants, as well men as women, should be bound to serve, receiving salary and wages accustomed in the places where they ought to serve, as in the twentieth year of the King that now is, or five or six years before; and that the same servants refusing to serve in such a manner should be punished by imprisonment of their bodies; and now, forasmuch as the King is given to understand in this present Parliament by the petition of the Commonalty that the said servants having no regard to the said ordinance, but

to their ease and singular covetousness, do decline to serve great men and other, unless they have wages to double or treble of that they were wont to take, to the great damage of the great men and impoverishing of all the Commonalty: wherefore in the same Parliament by the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and other great men of the said Commonalty there assembled, to refrain the malice of the said servants, be ordained and established the things underwritten:—

First, that carters, ploughmen, drivers of the plough, shepherds, swineherds, dairymen, and all other servants, shall take wages accustomed the said twentieth year or four years before, so that in the country where wheat was wont to be given, they shall take for the bushel ten pence or wheat at the will of the giver, till it be otherwise ordained. And they shall be hired to serve for a whole year, or by other usual terms, and not by the day; and none shall pay in the time of hay-making but a penny the day; and a mower of meadows for the acre five pence, or by the day five pence; and reapers of corn in the first week of August two pence, and in the second, three pence, and so till the end of August, and less in the country where less was wont to be given, without meat or drink; and that all workmen bring openly in their hands to the market towns their instruments, and there shall be hired in a common place and not privily.

Also, that none take for the threshing of a quarter of wheat, or of rye over two pence and the quarter of barley beans, pease and oats one penny, if so much were wont to be given . . . and that the same servants be sworn two times in a year before lords, stewards, bailiffs and constables of every town, to hold and do these ordinances; and none of them shall go out of the town where he dwelleth in the winter to serve the summer, if he may serve in the same town . . . and that those which refuse to take such oath or to perform that they be sworn to shall be put in the

stocks by the said lords by three days or more, or sent to the next gaol there to remain till they justify themselves.

Also, that carpenters, masons and tilers, and other workmen of houses shall not take by the day for their work but in manner as they were wont, that is to say: a master carpenter three pence and another two pence, a master mason four pence and other masons three pence, and their servants one penny, tilers three pence and their knaves one penny, plasterers and other workers of mud walls and their knaves by the same manner without meat or drink one shilling from Easter to Michaelmas. . . .

Also that cordwainers and shoemakers shall not sell boots nor shoes nor none other thing touching their mystery, in any other manner than they were wont the said twentieth year; also that goldsmiths, saddlers, horsesmiths, spurriers, tanners, curriers, tanners of leather, tailors and other workmen, artificers and labourers, and all other servants not here specified shall be sworn before the justices to do and use their crafts and offices in the manner as they were wont to do. . . .

23. GAMES SUPPLANT ARCHERY [A.D. 1363]

SOURCE: Rymer, *Fœdera*, III.

The King [Edward III.] to the Lord-lieutenant of Kent, greeting:

Whereas the people of our realm, rich and poor alike, were accustomed formerly in their games to practise archery —whence by God's help, it is well known that high honour and profit came to our realm, and no small advantage to ourselves in our warlike enterprises—and that now skill in the use of the bow having fallen almost wholly into disrepute, our subjects give themselves up to the throwing of stones and of wood and of iron; and some to handball and football and hockey; and others to coursing and cock-

fights, and even to other unseemly sports less useful and manly; whereby our realm—which God forbid—will soon, it would appear, be void of archers:

We, wishing that a fitting remedy be found in this matter, do hereby ordain, that in all places in your county, liberties or no liberties, wheresoever you shall deem fit, a proclamation be made to this effect: that every man in the same county, if he be able-bodied, shall, upon holidays, make use, in his games, of bows and arrows, . . . and so learn and practise archery.

Moreover we ordain that you prohibit under penalty of imprisonment all and sundry from such stone, wood and iron throwing; handball, football, or hockey; coursing and cock-fighting; or other such idle games.

24. CONCERNING LEPERS [A.D. 1370]

SOURCE: Stow, *Survey of London*. Ed. Morley.

It is to be observed that leprous persons were always, for the avoiding the danger of infection, to be separated from the sound; God Himself commanding to put out of the host every leper. Whereupon I read that in a provincial synod, holden at Westminster by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year of Christ, 1200, the second of King John, it was decreed according to the institution of the Lateran Council, that when so many leprous persons were assembled that might be able to build a church, with a churchyard for themselves, and to have one especial priest of their own, that they should be permitted to have the same without contradiction, so they be not injurious to the old churches by that which was granted to them for pity's sake. And, further, it was decreed that they be not compelled to give any tithes of their gardens or increase of cattle.

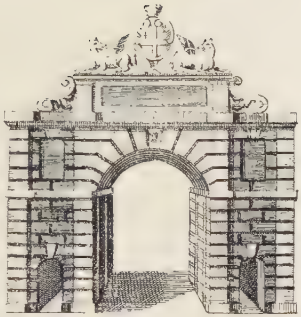
I have, moreover, heard that there is a writte in our

law "de leproso amovendo," and I have read that King Edward the Third, in the twentieth year of his reign, gave commandment to the mayor and sheriffs of London to make proclamation in every ward of the city and suburbs, that all leprous persons inhabiting there should avoid within fifteen days next, and that no man suffer any such leprous person to abide within this house, upon pain to forfeit his said house, and to incur the king's further displeasure. And that they should cause the said lepers to be removed into some out-places in the fields, from the haunt or company of sound people; whereupon certain lazar-houses, as may be supposed, were then builded without the city some good distance—to wit, the lock without Southwarke, in Kent Street; one other betwixt the Miles end and Stratford Bow; one other at Kingsland, betwixt Shoreditch and Stoke Newington; and another at Knightes bridge, west from Charing crosse. These four I have noted to be erected for the receipt of leprous people sent out of the city. At that time also the citizens required of the guardians of Saint Giles Hospital to take from them, and keep continually, the number of fourteen persons leprous, according to the foundation of Matilda the queen, which was for leprous persons of the city of London, and the shire of Middlesex, which was granted. More, the Wardens or Keepers of the Portes, Gates, or Posterns of this city were sworn in the Mayor's Court before the Recorder—That they should well and faithfully keep the same Portes and Posterns, and not suffer any leprous persons to enter the said city.

John Gardener, Porter of the Postern by the Tower, his oath before the Mayor and Recorder of London, on Monday after the feast of Saint Bartholomew, the 49 *of Edward the Third*:—

That the Gates and Postern be well and faithfully kept in his office and Baylywicke, and that he should not suffer

Ald Gate



Bishops Gate

Moor Gate

Cripple Gate

Four Gates of Old London

Geoffrey Chaucer

any lepers or leper to enter the city, or to remain in the suburbs; and if any leper or lepers force themselves to enter by his Gates or Postern, he to bind them fast to horses and send them to be examined of the superiors, etc.

THE PASSING OF FEUDALISM

25. THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS [A.D. 1373]

SOURCE: Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, retold by Margaret C. Macaulay.

At the Tabard Inn.

It chanced that on a certain day in April I had taken lodging at the Tabard Inn in Southwark, ready to set forth with devout intent upon my pilgrimage to Canterbury, when there came to the same hostelry at nightfall a company of nine-and-twenty travellers, whom chance had thrown together, all pilgrims bound for Canterbury, like myself. The rooms and stables of the inn were spacious, the entertainment was of the best, and, not to make more words, that same evening I talked with them all, and joined myself to their company, agreeing to rise early and take the road with them.

A Description of the Pilgrims.

But before I go further with my tale I think it well to set down a description of each of the pilgrims, telling you who they were, and what was their rank, and how they were equipped.

The Knight.

To begin, then, there was a Knight, a gallant man, who from the time when he first rode forth to fight had been a lover of chivalry, of truth and honour, liberality and

courtesy. He had fought worthily for his king, and was renowned also for his prowess in distant lands, both Christian and heathen. He had made expeditions in Lithuania and in Russia, no knight of his degree so often ; and many a time in Prussia he had sat at the head of the table above all the knights of other nations there. In Africa, in Turkey, and in Armenia he had harried the infidel ; he had been at the sieges of Alexandria, of Granada and of Algezir, and had taken part in fifteen deadly battles. Thrice he had fought for our faith in the lists at Tramyssene, and each time slain his foe. Everywhere he had won renown ; and though he was so worthy, yet was he modest, and as gentle in his manners as a maiden. Never in all his life had he spoken to anyone a discourteous or unseemly word. He was indeed a very perfect, gentle knight. For his equipment, his horses were good, but he himself was not gaily dressed. His doublet was of plain fustian, all blackened by the marks of his armour, for he had lately come back from the wars, and was making his pilgrimage in thanksgiving for his safe return

The Squire.

With him rode his son, a young Squire of twenty years of age. He was a curly-haired youth of middle height, wonderfully strong and active, who had seen service in Flanders and in France, and had acquitted himself well, hoping thereby to win his lady's love. His gown was short, with sleeves long and wide, broidered all over like a field of red and white flowers. He was as fresh as the month of May, singing and playing on the flute all day long ; a good rider, and an ardent lover, able to compose songs and to write poetry, to joust, to dance, and to draw. With all this he was courteous, humble, and serviceable, and carved before his father at table.

The Yeoman.

There rode with them one servant only, a Yeoman, clad in a coat and hood of green. Under his belt he bore a sheaf of arrows, sharp and bright, and plumed with peacocks' feathers, well trimmed so that they did not droop in their flight; and in his hand he carried a mighty bow. Well practised he was in all wood-craft, a good forester, as I should guess. His face was brown, his hair close cropped. He wore a gay bracer on his arm; a sword and buckler hung at his side, and a dagger, sharp and well mounted. On his breast was a bright silver brooch with the figure of St Christopher. He carried a horn slung to a green baldrick.[1]

The Nun.

There was a Nun, too, a Prioress, with a quiet smile on her face, whose name was Madam Eglantine. Well able she was to chant the divine service, and she spoke French fairly and fluently, after the school of Stratford at Bow, for the French of Paris was unknown to her. If ever she swore, it was but by St Loy. Her manners were courteous, and at table she took her food in a seemly fashion, letting no morsel fall from her lips, and dipping only the tips of her fingers in the sauce. She carried her food to her mouth so that not a drop fell upon her breast, and she wiped her lips so clean that no grease was to be seen in her cup after she had drunk. Mirthful she was, too, and pleasant, though she cultivated a courtly bearing, and desired to be held worthy of reverence. Her heart was so kind and pitiful that she would weep if she saw a mouse caught in a trap. Some little dogs, too, she had, which she fed with roast meat, or milk and wastel bread; and sorely she would weep if one of them died or were struck with a stick, so

[1] Belt.

tender hearted was she and full of feeling. This Prioress was tall, and had a fair, wide forehead; her eyes were grey, her nose well formed, and her mouth was small, soft and red. She wore a close-pleated wimple and a cloak neatly fashioned, and on her arm she carried a rosary of coral beads with green gawdies, from which there hung a clasp of gold with the device of a crowned "A," and below it the words, "Amor vincit omnia." With her she had three priests, and another Nun, who was her chaplain.

The Monk.

Then there was a Monk, a handsome man, well fitted to be an abbot. He loved hunting, and had many a good horse in his stables. The bells on his bridle jingled in the wind as he rode, as clear and loud as the ringing of the chapel bell. The rule of St Benedict was too old-fashioned and strict for him, and in the house where he was Prior he let old things go by, and held to the newer fashions of the world. It was little he cared for the saying that hunters are profane men, or that a monk out of his cloister is like a fish out of water. And I say that he was right. Why should he lose his wits poring over a book in a cloister, or labour with his hands as Augustine bids? Let Augustine work if he will; but it is not for such as these. Therefore this Monk was a hard rider, and kept swift greyhounds; for the hunting of the hare was his delight, and he would spare no cost for it. His sleeves were edged with fine and costly fur, and his hood was fastened with a gold pin adorned with a love-knot. His bald head shone like glass, and so too did his face, and his eyes were bright and roving. His boots were supple and his horse in fine condition and as brown as a berry. He was a goodly prelate beyond all doubt, well-favoured and ruddy; and a fat swan roasted was his favourite dish.

The Friar.

We had a jolly Friar with us, too, who in all the four orders had no equal for fair speech. He was a pillar of his order, well known and well beloved through all the country-side, and especially by the women; for by his licence he had greater power, he said, to hear confession and grant absolution than a parish priest; and for those who paid liberally his penances were light; for, as he said, if a man gives to a poor order it is a sign that he is a true penitent; many, though they repent, are unable to weep for their sins because their hearts are so hard, and these instead of tears and prayers may give silver to the poor friars. His tippet was always stored with knives and pins to give away to women. He could play upon the lute and sing a merry song, with a lisp that made his English sweet upon the tongue; and when he played and sang, his eyes twinkled like stars on a frosty night. His neck was as white as a lily, and he was as strong as a champion wrestler. He was courteous and lowly in service when he saw a chance of gain; a man of wonderful powers, and the best beggar of his house. So pleasant was his greeting to the ear, that even though a poor widow had not a shoe to her foot, he would contrive to get a farthing from her before he left. He was well acquainted with the taverns in every town, and was more familiar by far with the inn-keepers than with the lepers and beggars. It was more fitting for a man of his worth to associate with the rich than with the poor; for what profit or advancement could the poor bring him? On love-days especially he was much in request, for then he was not like a poor scholar with a threadbare coat, but his cope was of double worsted, as round as a bell, and he bore himself like a learned doctor, or like the Pope himself. This worthy limitour [1] was named Hubert.

[1] A begging friar licensed to beg only within certain limits.

The Merchant.

There was a Merchant, with a forked beard, who rode in a motley suit, and wore a Flemish beaver hat, and trimly buckled boots. His opinions on public affairs, which he delivered in solemn tones, all tended to the increase of his own gains. At all costs he desired that the sea should be well guarded between Middleburgh and Orwell, and on the exchange of French crowns he made good profit. So well did he use his wits in his bargains and his business, that no one knew it when he was in debt. A worthy man he was in truth, but his name I cannot tell you.

The Clerk.

There was a Clerk of Oxford also, long given to the study of logic. His horse was as lean as a rake, and he himself was not fat, but had a gaunt and sober look. His short cloak was threadbare, for as yet he had no benefice, and he was too unworldly to seek after office. He loved better to have at his bed's head twenty books of Aristotle's philosophy bound in red or black, than rich clothes, a fiddle, or a lute. Yet, though he was a philosopher, he had but little gold in his coffers, and all that he could get from his friends he spent on books and on learning, praying diligently for the souls of those who gave him the means to study; for that was what he loved best. He spoke no word more than was needful, and all that he said was formal, brief, and pithy. All his speech was full of virtue, and glad he was both to learn and to teach.

The Sergeant at Law.

We had, moreover, a Sergeant at Law, a shrewd and learned man, full of wise words. He had often sat as Justice of Assize, and many were the fees and the robes which he had received by reason of his knowledge and high repute.

He was a great purchaser of land, and no entail or mortgages gave him trouble, nor could any flaw be found in his deeds. Never was there a busier man than he, and yet he seemed even busier than he really was. He could quote every case and judgment from the time of William the Conqueror till now, and all the statutes he knew by heart. He was dressed but plainly, in a coat of two colours, and had a girdle of silk with small bars upon it.

The Franklin.

With him there was a Franklin,[1] with a ruddy face and a beard as white as a daisy. He was above all fond of good living, a true son of Epicurus, who held that perfect happiness consists in pleasure; and of a morning he dearly loved a sop in wine. His house was large and his hospitality great; he was a very St Julian in his own countryside. His bread and ale were always good, and better wine had no man than he. Baked fish and meats abounded in his house; and woe to the cook if the sauce were not well-seasoned or the cooking utensils ready! In his hall the table was spread all day, furnished according to the season; his coops held many a fat partridge, his fish-ponds many a bream and pike. He was chairman of the magistrates at sessions, and had been sheriff of the county, and more than a few times knight of the shire. At his girdle there hung a dagger, and a purse of milk-white silk.

The Haberdasher, Carpenter, Weaver, Dyer, Upholsterer.

A Haberdasher and a Carpenter, a Weaver, a Dyer, and an Upholsterer were with us also, all clothed alike in the livery of a noble guild. Their apparel was smart and new, and their knives were not mounted with brass, but all with silver, finely wrought; each one seemed a fair burgess,

[1] One whose estate was free of any feudal superior.

fit both for wisdom and for wealth to sit as alderman at the high table in a Guildhall: and to this their wives too would make no objection; for it is pleasant to be called "Madam," and to go before the rest to vigils, with a mantle carried after you in royal fashion.

The Cook.

These men had a Cook with them for their journey, who could roast, boil and fry, bake good pies, and make forced meat with the best. Well did he know the taste of London ale.

The Shipman.

In our company, too, there was a Shipman of the west country, from Dartmouth, for all I know. He rode upon a pack-horse as best he could, and his skin was burnt brown by the summer sun. He wore a stuff gown reaching to his knee, and a dagger slung by a cord about his neck. A good fellow he was, and many a draught of wine had he drawn from the cask on the voyage from Bordeaux, while the owner slept. His feelings were not over fine; if he fought and gained the victory he threw his prisoners overboard, and sent them home by water. But for skill in seamanship he had not his equal upon the seas. He knew well how to reckon his tides and his currents, and was acquainted with every haven from Gothland to Finisterre. Bold he was, and prudent too, and his beard had been shaken by many a storm. His ship was called the "Maudelaine."

The Doctor.

There was with us also a Doctor of Physic, well versed in astronomy, and skilful therefore in medicine and in surgery. In tending his patient he watched carefully for

the right conjunction of the planets, and made images for him under a fortunate ascendant. A good practitioner he was, and knew the cause and remedy of every sickness. He had his apothecaries always at hand to supply drugs and syrups; for each made gain for the other, and their friendship was of long standing. He knew all the writers on medicine, from Esculapius to Gatesden, though in the Bible he read but little. In his diet he was sparing, eating only what was digestible and nourishing. His clothing was somewhat costly, of scarlet and dark blue, with lining of silk, but in his other expenses he was not lavish, and what he gained in time of pestilence he kept; for in physic gold is a cordial, and therefore he loved it well.

The Wife of Bath.

Then there was a good Wife from the country about Bath. She was somewhat deaf, which was a pity; but in clothmaking she surpassed the weavers of Ypres and of Ghent. She would let no woman in the parish go up before her to the offering in church; if any did so, her wrath put her out of all charity. Her face was bold and red, her teeth set far apart; and she sat easily upon an ambling nag, a foot-mantle about her broad hips, and a pair of sharp spurs on her feet. Her shoes were new and supple, her hose of fine scarlet, closely tied; she wore a wimple, and a hat as broad as a buckler. The kerchiefs which she carried as her head-dress of a Sunday were of the finest, and weighed, I dare swear, ten pounds. Five husbands had she married at the church door, besides sweethearts in her youth, of whom we need say nothing; she had made pilgrimages to many distant lands, to Rome and to Boulogne, to Cologne, and to Saint James in Galicia, and to Jerusalem three times. In company she laughed and talked with the best. She was well acquainted, too, with the remedies for love, for that dance none knew better than she.

The Parson.

There was also a Parson of a parish, poor in worldly goods, but rich in holy thoughts and works; gentle, diligent, and patient in adversity; a learned man and a true preacher of the gospel of Christ. Full loath was he to lay a curse on those who failed to pay him their tithes; rather would he give to his poor parishioners out of the Church offerings and out of his own substance. A small pittance contented him; he was a true shepherd, and no hireling; and what he preached he first practised himself, setting a noble example to his flock. If gold rust, he was wont to say, what will iron do? If a priest be not virtuous, no wonder if the ignorant lay people should do ill. He did not let out his benefice to hire, leaving his sheep stuck fast in the mire while he ran to London to seek a chantry at St Paul's and sing masses for souls, or to take service as the chaplain of a guild; but he dwelt at home, and guarded his flock against the wolf. His parish was wide, and the houses far apart, but he let no weather, neither rain nor thunder, keep him from visiting his parishioners, high or low; staff in hand, he would go to them on foot, however far away they lived. And, though he was so good himself, yet he was not harsh to sinners, but taught them with wise and gentle words, and tried to draw them heavenwards by his example, though on occasion he could sharply rebuke one who was obstinate, whether of high or low estate. He claimed no reverence, nor ceremony, but taught the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, and followed it first himself.

The Ploughman.

With him there was his brother, a Ploughman, riding in a smock frock upon a mare. He was a good and true worker, who had carted many a load of manure; he lived in peace and charity with all men, loved God with his whole

heart, alike in good times and in bad, and his neighbour as himself. On occasion he was ready to dig or thresh for a poor man without hire; and fully and fairly he paid his tithes.

There were besides a Reeve, a Miller, a Summoner, a Pardoner, a Manciple, and myself.

The Miller.

The Miller was a thick-set, short-necked, broad fellow, big in bone and muscle, who in wrestling matches always won the ram. He could break any door or lift it off its hinges by running at it with his head. His mouth was wide, his beard red as a fox and broad as a spade. He wore a white coat and a blue hood, and carried a sword and buckler by his side. He was a loud talker, and a teller of ribald tales; and clever at stealing corn, and taking three times his proper toll; but for all that he had a thumb of gold. He was a good performer, too, upon the bagpipes, and with these he played us out of town.

The Manciple.

The Manciple [1] was steward and caterer to one of the Inns of Court, and of him all purchasers of victuals might take example; for, whether he paid ready money or bought on credit, he always made a good bargain for himself. With all his lack of learning, his wit surpassed the learning of the lawyers who were his masters, and though a dozen of them at least were fit to be stewards to any lord in England, yet this Manciple made fools of them all.

The Reeve.

The Reeve [2] was a slender man of choleric complexion, close shaven, with cropped hair shorn like a priest's, and

[1] Steward. [2] Bailiff.

his legs long and lean like sticks. He was a shrewd farmer, and knew by the weather how his crops would yield. Since his lord was twenty years of age he had had charge of all his stock, cattle, horses, sheep, swine, poultry, and dairy, and made a good profit for himself, though no auditor could prove his accounts at fault. He knew all the tricks of the herdsmen, labourers, and bailiffs, so that they feared him like death. His house was in a pleasant position on a heath, surrounded by green trees. He had enriched himself secretly at his lord's expense, and was able now to earn his gratitude by lending to him on occasion out of what was in fact his own. In his youth he had learnt a good craft, and was a skilful carpenter. Baldeswell in Norfolk was his native place. He wore a long blue surcoat, tucked up about him like a friar's; and he rode a dapple-grey called Scot, carrying a rusty blade at his side, and keeping himself always the hindmost of the company.

The Summoner[1] had a fiery face, with small eyes, black brows, and a scanty beard. Children were frightened at his face, which was so blotched and pimpled that no remedy could amend it. Of all food and drink he loved best garlic, leeks, onions, and strong red wine; and when he was drunk, he would shout out like a madman, repeating tags of Latin, which he had picked up out of some law decree. He knew all the secrets of the young people of the diocese, and had them at his mercy. But he was an easy-going knave, and for a quart of ale would wink at a good fellow's offences for a twelvemonth, and would bid him care nothing for the Archdeacon's curse, for it would touch his purse only, and not his soul. But in this I know well that he lied, for a guilty man should fear the curse of the Church, which has power to slay the soul, even as absolution saves it; and a "Significavit" is a serious

[1] One whose duty it was to call offenders into the Church courts.

matter. On his head he had set a garland big enough for an ale-house sign, and by way of a buckler he carried a great cake.

The Pardoner.

With him there rode a gentle Pardoner of Rouncival, his friend and comrade, newly come from Rome, who loudly sang the song, "Come hither, love, to me!" the Summoner bearing him company with a bass like the blast of a trumpet. This Pardoner thought that he rode in the height of the fashion, his head bare save for his cap, his smooth yellow hair hanging loose about him like a hank of flax, spread out in thin locks over his shoulders. For greater freedom he wore no hood, but kept it packed up in his wallet, and rode bareheaded in his cap, in which he had fastened a vernicle. He had full and staring eyes, like a hare, a smooth face, and a small voice like the bleat of a goat. In front of him lay his wallet, stuffed full of pardons, all hot from Rome. From Berwick to Ware there was no such pardoner. For among the relics in his wallet was a pillow-case which he said was our Lady's veil, and a scrap, so he said, of the sail that St Peter had on his ship at the time when he walked upon the sea. He had moreover a metal cross set with stones, and some pigs' bones in a glass box. But whatever they were, with these relics he could get more money in a country parish in the course of one day than the poor parson got in two months, and with his flattery and knavish tricks he fooled both priest and people. But for all that, to give him his due, he was a fine figure in church, and a good reader of lesson or story; but best of all he sang an offertory, for when this was done, he knew that he must preach the sermon, and polish up his tongue to get silver from the people, as he right well could; so he sang it out merrily and loud.

Now I have told you the number, the rank, and the equipment of our company, and why it was assembled at this hostelry, the Tabard Inn, hard by the Bell in Southwark; and I must tell you further what we did that night, and afterwards, of our journey and the rest of our pilgrimage. But first I pray you of your courtesy that you blame me not for rudeness of speech, though I set down each man's words, seemly or unseemly, just as they were spoken; for you know as well as I do, that if a man undertakes to report a story, he must tell it as it was told, else he will be telling it untruly. I crave your pardon also if I have not here set down the company in their proper order of rank. My wit, as you will perceive, is small.

The Host.

Our Host made us good cheer, and set us down to supper, serving us with victuals of the best. The wine was strong, and we drank right willingly. A fine comely man was our Host; there was no fairer burgess in Cheapside; a stout fellow, with bright eyes, bold in speech, wise and manly, and a merry man withal, as he proved that evening. For after supper, when we had paid our reckonings, he began to talk and jest with us, and presently he thus addressed the company:

"My masters, you are right heartily welcome for by my troth I have not this year past seen so merry a company together in this hostel as is now assembled here. Fain would I further your pleasure if I knew how; and I have thought just now of a game which will cost you nothing. You are bound for Canterbury,—God speed you, and the blessed Martyr reward you! And well I know that you will beguile the time upon your journey with tales and jesting, for there is neither pleasure nor profit in riding together dumb as stones. Now, I have a plan which will make

sport for you all; and if you are willing to abide by my judgment and do as I say, I vow by my father's soul you shall be merry! Hold up your hands if you agree, without more ado!"

We did as he desired, and bade him say on.

"Listen, then," said he, "my plan is this; each of you on the journey to Canterbury shall tell two tales, and two more upon the homeward road. And whichever of you shall tell the best stories shall have a supper at the cost of us all here in this house when we return. And to make you the merrier I propose to ride with you myself and be your guide and the judge of your tales; moreover, whichever of you shall refuse to accept my ruling shall pay all that we spend upon the road. If you consent to my plan, let me know at once, and I will prepare for the journey without delay."

Our consent was gladly given; we begged him to do as he proposed, to be our ruler and the judge of our tales, and to provide a supper at a certain price, promising to abide by his decision in all things. Then the wine was brought in, and having drunk we went to rest.

26. A SEAMAN'S PAY IN EDWARD III'S REIGN [A.D. 1375]

SOURCE: *Black Book of the Admiralty.* Ed. Sir Travers Twiss. Rolls Series.

. . . By auntient custome a marriner is to take for hire from the Poole of London to Lisbone twenty shillings from the portage (carriage) of a tonn (nearly one hogshed).

Item, that from London to Bayon a marriner shall have ten shillings hire for the carriage of a tonn.

Item, betweon London, Bourdeaux, and Rochell in vintage tyme, a marriner shall have eight shillings wages and the carriage of a tonn, and in tyme of reke seven shillings wages and the carriage of a pipe. . . .

Item, between London and Ireland a marriner shall have ten shillings wages and the carriage of three dickers (10) of hydes. . . .

Item, between London and Calais a marriner shall have five shillings wages without carriage.

Item, between London and Fflanders a marriner shall have six shillings wages without carriage.

Item, between London and Spuys (probably Sluys) a marriner used to have twenty shillings wages. . . .

Item, between London and Skone (Scone in Scotland) a marriner used to have eight shillings and four pence wages. . . .

Item, between London and Newcastle-upon-Tyne a marriner shall have four shillings wages and two quarters of coales free of bulke for carriage.

Item, between London and Berewyke a marriner shall have eight shillings wages which shal be paid there to the end that hee may buy such merchandizes as hee shall thinke good, which shal be laden in the same shipp wherein he hath the said wages for his carriage.

27. THIS SCEPTRED ISLE [A.D. 1377].

SOURCE: Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, Act II, Scene i.

Gaunt: This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise;
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war;
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands;

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Feared by their breed, and famous by their birth,
Renowned for their deeds as far from home,
For Christian service and true chivalry,
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's son;
This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leased out, I die pronouncing it,
Like to a tenement or pelting farm:
England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds;
That England, that was wont to conquer others
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself,
Ah, would the scandal vanish with my life,
How happy then were my ensuing death!

28. THE PEASANTS' REVOLT [A.D. 1381]

SOURCE: *The Chronicles of Froissart*: translated by Lord Berners, Vol. I. (Globe Edition). Slightly modified from the text.

In the mean season there fell in England great mischief and rebellion of the common people, by which deed England was at a point to have been lost without recovery. . . .

It was a marvellous thing, and of poor foundation, that this mischief began in England, and to give example to all manner of people, I will speak thereof as it was done, as I was informed, and of the incidents thereof. There was a usage in England, and yet is in divers countries, that the noblemen have great franchise over the common, and keep them in servage, that is to say, their tenants ought by custom to labour their lords' lands, to gather and bring

home the corn, and some to thresh and to fan, and by servage to make their hay and to hew their wood and bring it home. All these things they ought to do by servage, and there be more of these people in England than in any other realm. Thus the noblemen and prelates are served by them, and specially in the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford. These unhappy people in these said countries began to stir, because they said they were being kept in great servage, and in the beginning of the world, they said, there were no bondmen, wherefore they maintained that none ought to be bond, without he did treason to his lord, as Lucifer did to God. . . . And of this imagination was a foolish priest in the county of Kent, called John Ball, for which foolish words he had been three times in the Bishop of Canterbury's prison; for this priest used oftentimes on the Sundays, after mass, when the people were going out of the minster, to go into the cloister and preach, and made the people assemble about him, and would say thus: "Ah ye good people, the matters goeth not well to pass in England, nor shall not do till everything be common, and that there be no villains nor gentlemen, but that we may all be united together, and that the lords be no greater masters than we be. What have we deserved, or why should we be kept theirs in servage? We be all come from one father and from one mother, Adam and Eve: whereby can they say or show that they be greater lords than we be, saving by that they cause us to win and labour for that they dispersed.

"They are clothed in velvet and camlet furred with grise, and we be vestured in poor cloth: they have their wines, spices and good bread, and we have the rye, the bran, and the straw, and drink water: they dwell in fair houses, and we have pain and travail, rain and wind in the fields: and by that that cometh of our labours they keep and maintain their estates: we be all called their

bondmen, and without we do readily them service, we be beaten: and we have no sovereign to whom we may complain, nor that will hear us, nor do us right. Let us go to the King, he is young, and show him what servage we be in, and show him how we will have it otherwise, or else we will provide us of some remedy; and if we go together, all manner of people that be now in any bondage will follow us to the intent to be made free; and when the King seeth us, we shall have some remedy, either by fairness or otherwise."

This John Ball said on Sundays, when the people issued out of the churches in the villages; wherefore many of the mean people loved him, and such as intended to no goodness said, how true; and so they would murmur one with another in the fields, and in the ways as they went together, affirming how John Ball said truth.

Of his words and deeds there was much people in London informed, such as had great envy at them that were rich and such as were noble; and then they began to speak among them, and said how the realm of England was right evil governed, and how that gold and silver was taken from them by them that were named noblemen: so thus those unhappy men of London began to rebel, and assembled there together, and sent word to the foresaid counties that they should come to London, and bring their people with them, promising them how they should find London open to receive them and the commons of the city to be of the same accord, saying how they would do so much to the King that there should not be one bondman in all England.

This promise moved so them of Kent, of Essex, of Sussex, of Bedford, and of the counties about, that they rose and came toward London to the number of 60,000. And they had a captain called Walter Tyler, and with him in company was Jack Straw and John Ball: these three were chief sovereign captains, but the head of all was Walter Tyler,

and he was indeed a tiler of houses, an ungracious patron. When these unhappy men began thus to stir, they of London, except such as were of their band, were greatly affrayed. Then the Mayor of London and the rich men of the city took counsel together, and when they saw the people thus coming in on every side, they caused the gates of the city to be closed, and would suffer no man to enter into the city. But when they had well imagined, they advised not to do so, for they thought they should thereby put their suburbs in great peril to be brent; and so they opened again the city, and there entered in at the gates in some places a hundred, two hundred, by twenty or thirty; and so when they came to London, they entered and lodged; and yet, of truth, most of their people could not tell what to ask or demand, but followed each other like beasts. In like wise these villains and poor people came to London, a hundred miles off, sixty mile, fifty mile, forty mile, and twenty mile off, and from all counties about London, but the most part came from counties before named, and as they came they demanded ever for the King.

The gentlemen of the counties, knights and squires, began to doubt when they saw the people began to rebel; so the gentlemen drew together as well as they might.

This rebellion was well known in the King's court ere any of these people began to stir out of their houses; but the King nor his Council did provide no remedy therefor, which was great marvel.

In the morning on Corpus Christi Day, King Richard heard mass in the Tower of London, and all his lords, and then he took his barge with the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford and certain knights, and so rowed down along the Thames to Rotherhithe, where were descended down the hill 10,000 men to see the King and speak with him. And when they saw the King's barge coming, they began to shout, and made such a cry,

John Ball preaching

Interview on the Thames between Richard II and the Insurgents

as though all the devils of hell had been among them. And they had brought with them Sir John Newton, to the intent that, if the King had not come, they would have stricken him all to pieces, and so they had promised him. And when the King and his lords saw the demeanour of the people, the best assured of them were in dread; and so the King was counselled by his barons not to take any landing there, but so rowed on down the river. And the King demanded of them what they would, and said how he was come thither to speak with them, and they said all with one voice: "We would that ye should come aland, and then we shall show you what we lack." Then the Earl of Salisbury answered for the King, and said: "Sirs, ye be not in such order nor array that the King ought to speak with you." And so with these words no more was said: and then the King was counselled to return to the Tower of London, and so he did.

And when the people saw that, they were inflamed with ire, and returned to the hill, where the great band was, and then showed them what answer they had, and how the King was returned to the Tower of London. Then they all cried out: "Let us go to London," and so they took their way thither: and in their going they beat down abbeys and houses of advocates and of men of the court, and so came into the suburbs of London, which were great and fair, and there beat down divers fair houses, and specially they brake up the King's prisons, such as Marshalsea and others, and delivered out all the prisoners that were within: and then they did much hurt; and on the bridge foot they threatened them of London because the gates of the bridge were closed, saying how they would bren all the suburbs and so conquer London by force, and slay and bren all the commons of the city. There were many within the city of their accord, and so they drew together and said: "Why do ye not let these good people

enter into the city? They are our fellows, and that that they do is for us." So therewith the gates were opened, and then these people entered into the city, and went into houses and sat down to eat and drink. They desired nothing but it was incontinent brought to them, for every man was ready to make them good cheer, and to give them meat and drink to appease them.

Then the captains, as John Ball, Jack Straw, and Wat Tyler, went throughout London, 20,000 with them, and so came to the Savoy on the way to Westminster, which was a goodly house, and it pertaineth to the Duke of Lancaster. And when they had entered, they slew the keepers thereof, and robbed and pillaged the house; and when they had so done, they set fire on it and clean destroyed and brent[1] it. . . . And when they had done that outrage, they left not therewith, but went straight to the fair hospital, called St John's, and they brent house, hospital minster, and all. Then they went from street to street, and slew all the Flemings that they could find in church or in any other place, there was none respited from death.

And they brake up divers houses of the Lombards, and robbed them and took their goods at their pleasure, for there was none that durst say them nay. And they slew in the city a rich merchant called Richard Lyon, whom before that time Wat Tyler had served in France, and on a time this Richard Lyon had beaten him, while he was his varlet, which Wat Tyler then remembered, and so came to his house and strike off his head, and caused it to be borne on a spear-point before him all about the city. . . .

The Saturday the King went to Westminster and heard mass in the church there, and all his lords with him; and then he leapt on his horse, and all his lords, and so the King rode toward London; and when he had ridden a

[1] Burnt.

little way, on the left-hand there was a way to pass without London.

The same morning Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball had assembled their company together in a place called Smithfield, where every Friday there is a market of horses, and there were together all of one affinity more than 20,000, and yet there were many still in the town, drinking and making merry in the taverns, and paying nothing, for they were happy that made them best cheer.

And therewith the King came the same way unaware of them, for he had thought to have passed that way without London, and with him forty horse. . . . The mayor of London came to the King with twelve horsemen well-armed under their coats, and so he broke the press and saw and heard how Wat Tyler demeaned himself, and said to him: "Ha, thou knave, how art thou so hardy in the King's presence to speak such words? It is too much for thee to do so." Then the King began to chafe and said to the mayor: "Set hands on him." And while the King said so, Tyler said to the mayor: "In God's name, what have I said to displease thee?" "Yes, truly," quoth the mayor, "thou false knave, shalt thou speak thus in the presence of the King, my natural lord?" And with these words the mayor drew out his sword and struck Tyler so great a stroke on the head, that he fell down at the feet of his horse, and as soon as he was fallen they environed him all about, whereby he was not seen of his company. Then a squire of the King alighted, called John Standish, and he drew out his sword and put it through Wat Tyler's body, and so he died.

Then the ungracious people there assembled, perceiving their captain slain, began to murmur among themselves and said: "Ah, our captain is slain, let us go and slay them all," and therewith they arrayed themselves on the same place in manner of battle, and their bows before them.

Then the King began a great deed; howbeit all turned to the best: for as soon as Tyler was on the earth, the King departed from all his company, and all alone he rode to these people, and said to them: "Sirs, what aileth you? Ye shall have no captain but me: I am your King: be all in rest and peace." And so the most part of the people that heard the King speak and saw him among them, were shamefast and began to wax peaceable and depart.

29. THE LIVERY OF THE CITIZENS OF LONDON ON FÊTE-DAYS.

SOURCE: Stow, *Survey of London.* Ed. Morley.

1226. *The 20th of Henry the Third.*

The mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and citizens of London rode out to meet the King and his new wife, Queen Eleinor, daughter to Raymond Berengarius of Aragon. The citizens were clothed in long garments, embroidered about with gold, and silk of divers colours, their horses finely trapped, to the number of 350, every man bearing a golden or silver cup in his hand, the King's trumpets before them sounding.

1300. *The 29th of Edward the First.*

The said king took to wife Margaret, sister of Philip le Beau, king of France; they were married at Canterbury. The queen was conveyed to London, against whom the citizens, to the number of 500, rode in one livery of red and white, with the cognisances of their mysteries embroidered upon their sleeves; they received her four miles out of London, and so conveyed her to Westminster.

1415. *The 3rd of Henry the Fifth.*

The said king arriving at Dover, the Mayor of London, with the aldermen and craftsmen riding in red with hoods

red and white, met with the king on the Black Heath, coming from Eltham with the prisoners out of France.

1432. *The 10th of Henry the Sixth.*

He, being crowned in France, returning to England, came to Eltham, towards London, and the Mayor of London, John Welles, the aldermen, with the commonalty, rode against him on horseback, the mayor in crimson velvet, a great velvet hat furred, a girdle of gold about his middle, and a bawdzike of gold about his neck, trilling down behind him, his three henchmen, on their great coursers, following him, in one suit of red, all splanged in silver; then the aldermen in gowns of scarlet, with sanguine hoods, and all the commonalty of the city clothed in white gowns and scarlet hoods, with divers cognisances embroidered on their sleeves.

1485. *The 1st of Henry the Seventh.*

The mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and commonalty, all clothed in violet (as in a mourning colour), met the king at Shoreditch, and conveyed him to Paul's Church, where he offered his banners.

Thus much for liveries of citizens in ancient times, both in triumphs and otherwise, may suffice; whereby may be observed that the coverture of men's heads was then hoods; for neither cap or hat is spoken of, except that John Wels, mayor of London, wore a hat in time of triumph, but differing from the hats lately taken in use [1] and now commonly worn for noblemen's liveries. . . . For a further monument of these late times, men may behold the glass windows of the mayor's court in the Guildhall, above the dais; the mayor is there pictured, fitting in habit, parti-coloured, and a hood on his head; his sword-bearer before him with

[1] Written in 1589.

an hat or cap of maintenance; the common clerk and other officers bare-headed, their hoods on their shoulders; and, therefore, I take it that the use of square bonnets worn by noblemen, gentlemen, citizens, and others, took beginning in this realm by Henry the Seventh, and in his time: and further antiquity, I can see no counterfeit or other proof of use.

30. A TILTING MATCH [A.D. 1387].

SOURCE: Froissart, *Chronicles.*

On the morrow, Sir John Holland and Sir Reginald de Roye armed themselves, and rode into a spacious close, . . . well sanded, where the tilts were to be performed. Scaffolds were to be erected for the ladies, the kings, the dukes, and the many English lords who came to witness this combat. The two knights entered the lists so well armed and equipped that nothing was wanting. Their spears, battle-axes and swords, were brought them, and each, being mounted on the best of horses, placed himself about a bow-shot distant from the other, and at times pranced about on their horses; for they knew that every eye was upon them.

All things were now arranged for the combat, which was to include everything except pushing it to extremity, though none could foresee what mischief might happen, nor how it would end: for they were to tilt with pointed lances, then with swords, which were so sharp that a helmet could scarcely resist their strokes; and these were to be succeeded by battle-axes and daggers, each so well tempered that nothing could withstand them. It was, indeed, a perilous combat. Having braced their targets, and viewed each other through the visors of their helmets, they spurred their horses, spear in hand. Though they allowed their horses to gallop as hard as they pleased they advanced

on as straight as a line, as if it had been drawn with a cord; and hit each other on their visors with such force that Sir Reginald's lance was shivered into four pieces, which flew to a greater height than they could have been thrown. All present allowed this to have been gallantly done. Sir John Holland's blow was not equally successful, and I will tell you why. Sir Reginald had but slightly laced on his helmet, so that it was held by one thong only, which broke at the blow, and the helmet flew over his head, leaving Sir Reginald bareheaded. Each passed the other, and Sir John bore his lance without halting. The spectators cried out that it was a handsome course. The knights returned to their stations, where Sir Reginald's helmet was fitted on again, and another lance was given to him. Sir John grasped his own, which was not injured. When ready, they set off at full gallop; for they held excellent horses under them, which they well knew how to manage; again they struck each other on the helmets, so that sparks of fire came from them, but chiefly from Sir John Holland's, who received a very severe blow, for this time the lance did not break; neither did Sir John's, but it hit the visor of his adversary, though without much effect, passing through and leaving it on the crupper of the horse, and Sir Reginald was once more bareheaded. "Ah," cried the English, "he does not fight fair; why is his helmet not as well buckled on as Sir John Holland's? Tell him to put himself on an equal footing with his adversary." "Hold your tongues," said the duke, "let them alone; in arms every one takes what advantage he can. If there is any advantage in the fastening on of the helmet, Sir John may do the same; but for my part, were I in their situation, I would lace my helmet as tight as possible." The English, on this, did not interfere further. The ladies declared that the combatants had nobly justed; they were also very much praised by the King of Portugal. The

third course was now begun: Sir John and Sir Reginald eyed each other to see if any advantage were to be gained, for their horses were so well trained that they could manage them as they pleased; and sticking spurs into them, they hit their helmets so sharply, that their eyes struck fire, and the shafts of their lances were broken. Sir Reginald was again unhelmeted; for he could never avoid this, and they passed each other without falling. All again declared that they had well tilted, though the English, with the exception of the Duke of Lancaster, greatly blamed Sir Reginald.

After the course of the lance, the combatants fought three rounds with swords, battle-axes, and daggers, without either of them being wounded. The French then carried off Sir Reginald to his lodgings, and the English did the same to Sir John Holland.

31. THE POPULATION OF SOME ENGLISH TOWNS AND COUNTIES IN THE REIGN OF RICHARD II [A.D. 1377 AND 1381]

SOURCE: Poll Tax Returns: as quoted in Powell, *The Rising in East Anglia in* 1381.

(These figures are taken from the Poll Tax Returns in 1377 and 1381.)

(*a*) TOWNS

	1377.	1381.
Bath	570	297
Bury St Edmunds	2,445	1,334
Bristol	6,345	5,662
Cambridge	1,902	1,739
Canterbury	2,574	2,123
Chichester	869	787
Colchester	2,955	1,609
Coventry	4,817	3,974
Exeter	1,560	1,420

(*a*) Towns—*continued*

	1377.	1381.
Gloucester	2,239	1,446
Hull	1,557	1,124
Lincoln	3,412	2,196
London	23,314	20,397
Newcastle-on-Tyne	2,647	1,819
Northampton	1,477	1,518
Oxford	2,357	2,005
Shrewsbury	2,082	1,618
Southampton	1,152	1,051
Worcester	1,557	932
York	7,248	4,015

(*b*) Counties

	1377.	1381.
Bedfordshire	20,339	14,895
Cornwall	34,274	12,056
Devonshire	45,635	20,656
Cumberland	11,841	4,748
Dorsetshire	34,241	19,507
Essex	47,962	30,748
Hampshire	33,241	22,018
Huntingdonshire	14,169	11,299
Kent	56,557	43,838
Lancashire	23,880	8,371
Middlesex	11,243	9,937
Norfolk	88,797	66,719
Northamptonshire	40,225	27,997
Rutland	5,994	5,993
Shropshire	23,574	13,041
Staffordshire	21,465	15,993
Suffolk	58,610	44,635
Surrey	18,039	12,684
Westmoreland	7,389	3,859

32. A TOURNAMENT AT SMITHFIELD [A.D. 1390]

SOURCE: Froissart, *Chronicles.*

The King of England and his three uncles had received the fullest information of the splendid feasts and entertainments made for Queen Isabella's public entry into Paris; and in imitation of it, they ordered grand tournaments and feasts to be holden in the city of London, where sixty knights should be accompanied by sixty noble ladies richly ornamented and dressed. The sixty knights were to tilt for two days; that is to say, on the Sunday after Michaelmas day, and the Monday following, in the year of grace 1390. They were to set out at two o'clock in the afternoon from the Tower of London with their ladies, and parade through the streets, down Cheapside, to a large square called Smithfield. There they were to wait on the Sunday the arrival of any foreign knights who might be desirous of tilting; and this feast of the Sunday was called the Challengers!

The same ceremonies were to take place on the Monday, and the sixty knights to be prepared for tilting courteously, with blunted lances, against all comers. The prize for the best knight of the opponents was a rich crown of gold, that for the tenants of the lists, a very rich golden clasp. They were to be given to the most gallant tilter, according to the judgment of the ladies who should be as spectators. On Tuesday the tournaments were to be continued by squires against others of the same rank who wished to oppose them. The prize for the opponents was a courser saddled and bridled, and for the tenants of the lists a falcon. Accordingly when Sunday came, about three o'clock, there pounded from the Town of London, which is situated in the Square of St Catherine, on the banks of the Thames, sixty barbed coursers ornamented for the tournament, and on each was mounted a squire of honour. Then came

sixty ladies of rank mounted on palfreys most elegantly and richly dressed, following each other, every one leading a knight with a silver chain completely armed for tilting; and in this procession they moved on through the streets of London, attended by numbers of minstrels and trumpets to Smithfield. The Queen of England and her ladies and damsels had already arrived, also the King. When the ladies who led the knights reached the square, the servants were ready to assist them to dismount from the palfreys, and conduct them to the apartments prepared for them. The knights remained until the squires of honour had dismounted and brought them their coursers, which having mounted, they had their helmets laced on, and prepared themselves in all points for the tilt. When the tournament began every one exerted himself to the utmost, many were unhorsed, and many more lost their helmets. The justing continued, with great courage and perseverance, until night put an end to it. The company then retired, and when supper-time was come, the lords and ladies attended. The prize for the opponents at the tournament was adjudged, by the ladies, lords and heralds, to the Count d'Ostrevant, who far eclipsed all who had tilted that day; that for the tenants was given to a gallant knight of England, called Sir Hugh Spencer.

On the morrow, Tuesday, the tournament was renewed by the squires, who tilted until night in the presence of the king, queen, and all the nobles. The supper was as before at the bishop's palace, and the dancing lasted until day-break. On Wednesday the tournament was continued by all knights and squires indiscriminantly. The remainder of the week was spent in feasting, and the king conferred the Order of the Garter on Count d'Ostrevant—a circumstance at which the King of France and many of his people were much annoyed.

33. THE NOBLE HOUSEKEEPING OF KING RICHARD II [A.D. 1399].

SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, II.

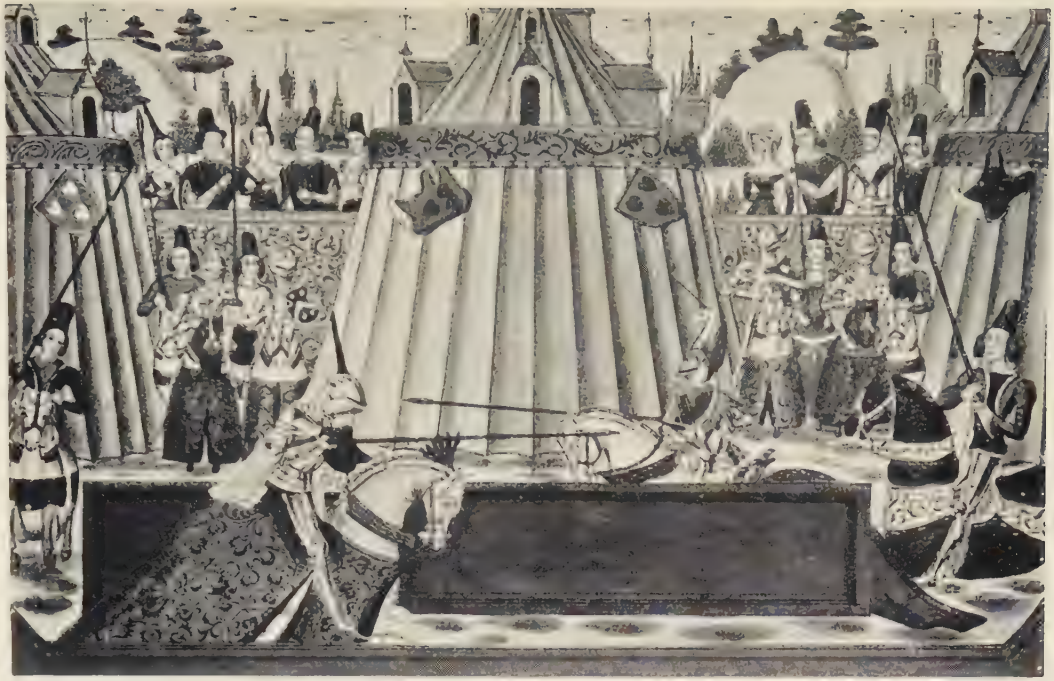
He kept the greatest port,[1] and maintained the most plentiful house that ever any king in England did either before his time or since. For there resorted daily to his court above ten thousand persons that had meat and drink there allowed them. In his kitchen there were three hundred servitors, and every other office was furnished after the like rate. Of ladies, chamberers and launderers, there were above three hundred at the least. And in gorgeous and costly apparel they exceeded all measure, not one of them that kept within the bounds of his degree. Yeomen and grooms were clothed in silks, with cloth of grain and scarlet, over sumptuous ye may be sure for their estates. And this vanity was not only used in the court in those days, but also other people abroad in the towns and countries had their garments cut for otherwise than had been accustomed before his days, with embroideries, rich furs, and goldsmith's work, and every day there was devising of new fashions, to the great hindrance and decay of the commonwealth.

34. THE PAGEANT OF A CORONATION [A.D. 1399]

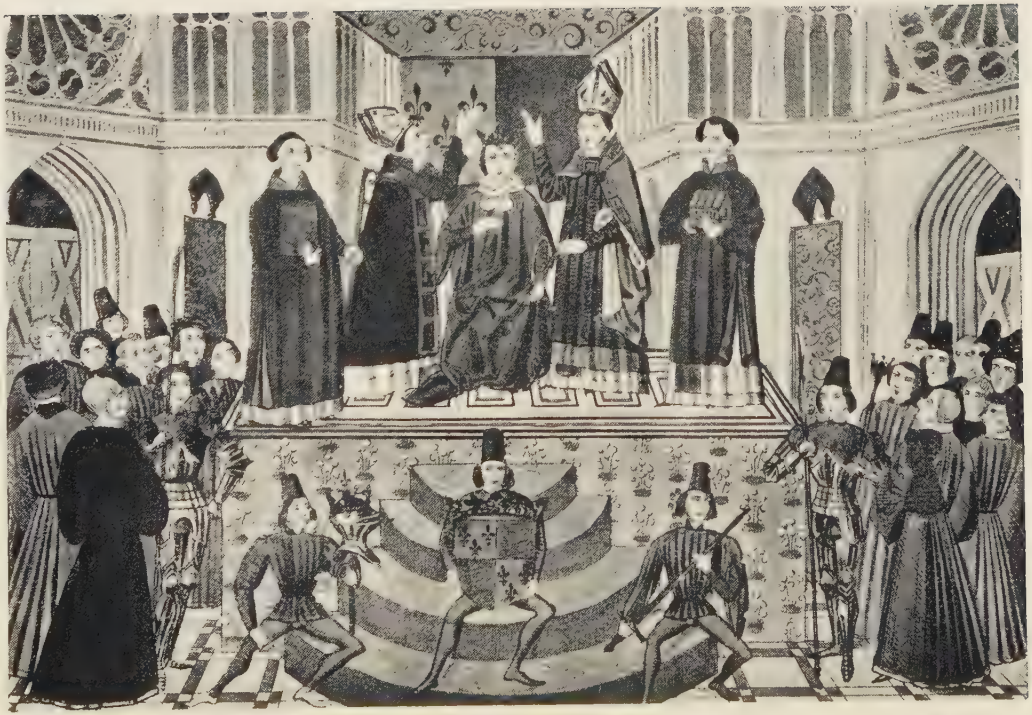
SOURCE: Froissart, *Chronicles.*

On Saturday before the coronation, the new King (Henry IV.) went from Westminster to the Tower of London, attended by great numbers, and those squires who were to be knighted watched their arms that night; they amounted to forty-six; each squire had his chamber and bath. The next day after mass the duke created them knights, and presented them with long green coats with

[1] Retinue.



A Tournament in the Fourteenth Century



Coronation of Henry IV

straight sleeves lined with miniver,[1] after the manner of the prelates. These knights had on their left shoulder a double cord of white silk, with white tufts hanging down.

This Sunday after dinner the duke left the Tower on his return to Westminster; he was bareheaded, and had round his neck the order of the King of France. The Prince of Wales, six dukes, six earls and eighteen barons accompanied him; and of other nobility there were from 800 to 900 horse in the procession. The duke, after the German fashion, was dressed in a jacket of cloth of gold, and mounted on a white courser, with a blue garter on his left leg. He passed through the streets of London, which were at the time all handsomely decorated with tapestries and other rich hangings; there were nine fountains in Cheapside and other streets through which he passed, and these perpetually ran with white and red wine. He was escorted by a prodigious number of gentlemen, with their servants in livery and badges; and the different companies of London were led by their wardens, clothed in their proper livery, and with the ensigns of their trade: the whole cavalcade amounted to 6,000 horse. The same night the duke bathed, and on the morrow confessed himself, and according to his custom heard three masses.

The prelates and clergy who had been assembled then came in procession from Westminster Abbey, to conduct the King to the Tower, and back again in the same manner. The dukes, earls and barons wore long scarlet robes, with mantles trimmed with ermine, and large hoods of the same; the dukes and earls had three bars of ermine on the left arm a quarter of a yard long, or thereabout; the barons had but two; all the knights and squires had uniform cloaks of scarlet lined with miniver. In the procession to the church, the duke had borne over his head a rich canopy of blue silk supported on silver stakes, with four golden

[1] A fine white fur.

bells at the corners. This canopy was borne by four burgesses of Dover, who claimed it as their right. On each side of the duke were the sword of mercy and the sword of justice; the first being borne by the Prince of Wales and the other by the Earl of Northumberland, Constable of England; the Earl of Westmoreland, the Marshal of England, carried the sceptre. The procession entered the church about nine o'clock. In the middle of the church was erected a scaffold covered with crimson cloth, in the centre of which was the royal throne of cloth of gold. When the duke entered the church, he seated himself on the throne, and was thus in regal state, except having the crown on his head. The Archbishop of Canterbury proclaimed from the four corners of the scaffold how God had given them a man for their lord and sovereign, and then asked the people if they were consenting parties to his being consecrated and crowned King, upon which the people unanimously shouted "Ay," and held up their hands, promising fealty and homage.

The duke then descended from the throne and advanced to the altar to be consecrated. Two archbishops and ten bishops performed the ceremony. He was stripped of all his royal state before the altar, naked to his shirt, and was then anointed and consecrated at six places: *i.e.* on the head, the breast, the two shoulders, before and behind; on the back and hands: a bonnet was then placed on his head, and while this was being done, the clergy chanted the litany, or the service that is performed to hallow a font. The King was now dressed in a churchman's clothes, like a deacon; and they put on him shoes of crimson velvet, after the manner of a prelate. Then they added spurs with a point but no rowel; and the sword of justice was drawn, blessed and delivered to the King, who put it again into the scabbard, when the Archbishop of Canterbury girded it about him. The crown of Saint Edward, which

is arched over like a cross, was next brought and blessed, and placed by the Archbishop on the King's head. When mass was over, the King left the church, and returned to the palace, in the same state as before. In the courtyard of the palace there was a fountain that ran constantly with red and white wine. The King went first to his closet, and then returned to the hall to dinner. At the first table sat the King; at the second, five great peers of England; at the third, the principal citizens of London; at the fourth, the new created knights; at the fifth all the knights and squires of honour. The King was served by the Prince of Wales who carried the sword of mercy; and on the opposite side by the Constable, who bore the sword of justice. At the bottom of the table was the Earl of Westmoreland with the sceptre. At the King's table there were only the two archbishops and seventeen bishops.

When dinner was half over, a knight of the name of Dymock entered the hall completely armed and mounted on a handsome steed, richly barbed with crimson housings. The knight was armed for wager of battle, and was preceded by another knight bearing his lance. He himself had his drawn sword in one hand, and his naked dagger by his side. The knight presented the King with a written paper, the contents of which were, that if any knight or gentleman should dare to maintain that King Henry was not a lawful sovereign, he was ready to offer him combat in the presence of the King, when and where he should be pleased to appoint.

The King ordered this challenge to be proclaimed by heralds in six different parts of the town and the hall; and to it no answer was made.

King Henry having dined and partaken of wine and spices in the hall, returned to his private apartments, and all the company separated. Thus passed the coronation day of King Henry.

35. LETTERS PATENT TO GEOFFREY CHAUCER [A.D. 1399]

SOURCE: Letter of Henry IV, quoted in *King's Letters.*

The King, to all to whom these presents may come: Greeting.

It appeareth to us, by inspection of the Rolls of Chancery of Richard, late King of England, the second after the Conquest, that the same late King caused his letters patent to be made to this effect:

"Richard, by the grace of God, etc: Greeting. Know ye, that we, of our special favour, and in return for the good service which our beloved esquire, Geoffrey Chaucer, hath bestowed, and will bestow on us in time to come, have granted to the same Geoffrey twenty pounds; to be received each year at our Exchequer, at the terms of Easter and St Michael, by equal portions, for his whole life. In witness whereof, we have caused to be made these our letters patent. Ourself witness at Westminster, 28th of February, in the seventeenth year of our reign."

It appeareth also to us by inspection of the Rolls of the Chancery Court of the same lately King, that he caused his other letters patent to be made to this effect:

"Richard, by the grace of God, etc.: Greeting. Know ye that, of our especial grace, we have granted to our beloved esquire, Geoffrey Chaucer, one cask of wine, to be received every year during his life, in the port of our city of London, by the hands of our chief butler for the time being. In witness whereof, etc."

We, in consideration that the same Geoffrey hath appeared before us in our Chancery Court personally, and hath made corporal oath, that the aforesaid letters have been casually lost, have thought proper that the tenour of the record of the same letters be transcribed by these presents. In witness, etc.

The King being witness, at Westminster, the 18th day of October, 1399.

36. THE PROVISIONING OF AN ARMY ON THE MARCH [A.D. 1400]

SOURCE: Letter from Henry IV. to the Lords of the Council, quoted in *King's Letters.*

For the King,

Right Dear and Well-Beloved,

Forasmuch as we are not yet provided with wine, flour, grain, beans, and oats, for the expense of our household and army which will be with us in our journey towards the marches of Scotland, we, by the advice of our council, will, hereby command you that, under our privy seal, you cause our letters to be sent in due form to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of our city of London; and to the mayor and bailiffs of the Cinque Ports, and of our towns of Orwell, Yarmouth, Lynne, Saint Botolph, Grimsby, Barton-upon-Humber, Kingston-upon-Hull, Whitby and Scarborough, and other towns where you shall find it convenient that they by sea cause to be brought to our port of Tynemouth and Shields without delay wine, flour, grain, beans and oats, to be there ready to be conveyed to our town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Holy Island, and to our city of Berwick-upon-Tweed, according as they shall be ordered, on our behalf, in order to refresh us and our army there. Promising by our said letters to the aforesaid mayors, sheriffs, and bailiffs, that each who shall so send to us wine, flour, grain, beans and oats, that to them it shall be assigned to have reasonable payment, each to receive it from our customs officers of the same town where he dwelleth; and moreover, you and our treasurer, give them security in the best form and manner that you shall be able, . . . and all the money that you can borrow upon

our jewels or other our goods whatsoever being under your keeping, or what money by other means you can make to our aid, you, our said treasurer, cause to be conveyed to us without fail. And this omit not, as we trust in you.

Given under our seal at our city of York, the fourth day of July, 1400. . . .

37. AN ENGLISH MERCHANT SHIP IN A.D. 1413

SOURCE: *Icelandic Sagas*, IV. Rolls Series.

A merchant ship came from England to Iceland. He was hight [named] Richard who was captain, and he had the King of Norway's letters, to the effect that he might sail with his wares into his realm without toll. He landed from his ship east at Horn, and so rode to Skalholt and back under Eyjafelle. Then he got on board his ship and sailed in her to Hrafnarfirth, but he had been allotted a haven before at Eyrarbakki. He would not land there. Many bought wares of him down by the sound. Little was taken of that by many wise men. He sailed away again a little after.

38. THE WAGES OF A KING'S MINSTRELS [A.D. 1415]

SOURCE: Rymer, *Fœdera*, IX.

This indenture made 5th June in the 3rd year of our sovereign lord King Henry, fifth since the Conquest, witnesseth that John Clyff, minstrel, and 17 other minstrels, have received from our said lord the King, by the hands of Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, treasurer of England, forty pounds as their wages, to each of them 12d. a day for half a quarter of a year, for serving our said lord in the parts of Guyenne or elsewhere.

39. THE BUILDING OF A KING'S SHIP [A.D. 1419]

SOURCE: A letter written by John Alastre of Bayonne to Henry V., quoted in *King's Letters.*

Most excellent, most highest, mightiest Prince and most Sovereign Lord, all manner of low subjection aforesaid. Liketh it to your Royal Majesty to know the governance and the making of your Ship at Bayonne. At the making of this letter it was in this estate, that is to wit, xxxvj strakes in height boarded, on the which strakes be laid xj beams; the most beam is in length xlvj common feet, and the beam of the hameron afore is in length xxxix feet, and the beam of the hameron behind is in length xxxiij feet, from the overmost end of the stem into the post behind is in length a hundred iij^{xx} and vj feet; and the stem is in height iiij^{xx} and xvj feet; and the post xlviij feet; and the keel is in length a hundred and xij feet; but he is rotted and must be changed.

Also liketh it to your royal Majesty to know that your Ship will not be ready at the term that they have promised you; and, by that I can see, not this iiij or v years hereafter. For the Major and his consorts hath rendered your assize fourpence of the lb. at your great damage, and their profit; for it is worth thrice as much as they payeth. Therefore, like as I have wrote to your royal Majesty hereafore, for and all the money that cometh of your assize should go to the Ship's works, your Ship would be soon ready, and yet of that little sum that your assize is rendered before they take thereof to their own use. And in this degree your works of your ship might not go forth, and by anything that I can see they will leave of the making of your ship in short time, but if ye make other ordinance thereto.

Also, liketh it to your royal Majesty to know that they may not excuse them by board nor timber, for they might have enow in the country, as good as any may be, and as

touching to carpenters they may have enow if they would, but they let them go where they will.

Also liketh it to your royal Majesty to know that I might not know of no costs nor dispenses, nor in what manner your money is beset, but like as themselves lust. And I leaving all mine occupations busy me, and travail me about the making of your ship.

Most excellent, most highest, mightiest Prince and most Sovereign Lord, Almighty Jesus have you in His keeping.

Written at Bayon the xxv day of April,

By your poor subject and true liegeman,

JOHN ALCESTRE.

40. THE ADVENTURES OF A RUSTIC IN LONDON [*circa* A.D. 1420]

SOURCE: The poem *London Lickpenny*, ascribed to John Lydgate. From the edition by Halliwell of Lydgate's *Minor Poems*.

[The poor countrymen endeavours to obtain legal justice in London but his "lack of money" is a drawback. After visiting the King's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, the Court of Chancery, and obtaining no redress, he proceeds to Westminster Hall.]

In Westmynster hall I found out one,
Which went in a long gown of raye ; [1]
I crowched and kneled before hym anon,
For Maryes love, of help I hym praye.
"I wot [2] not that thou meanest," gan he say :
To get me thence he did me bede,
For lack of mony I cold not speed.

Within this hall, neither rich nor yett poore
Wold do for me ought, although I shold dye.

[1] Striped. [2] Know.

Which seing, I gat me out of the doore,
Where Flemynges began on me for to cry,
" Master, what will you copen [1] or by ?
Fyne felt hattes, or spectacles to reede ?
Lay down your sylver, and here you may speede."

Then to Westmynster-Gate I presently went,
When the sonn was at hyghe pryme [2] ;
Cookes to me, they tooke good entente,[3]
And proffered me bread, with ale and wyne,
Rybbs of befe, both fat and ful fyne.
A fayre cloth they gan for to sprede ;
But wantyng mony I myght not then speede.

Then unto London I dyd me hye,
Of all the land it beareth the pryse ;
Hot pescodes,[4] one began to crye,
Strabery rype, and cherryes in the ryse ;
One bad me come nere and by some spyce,
Peper and safforne they gan me bede,
But for lack of mony I myght not spede.

Then to the Chepe [5] I began me drawne,
Where mutch people I saw for to stande ;
One ofred me velvet, sylke, and lawne,
An other he taketh me by the hande,
" Here is Parys thred, the fynest in the land " ;
I never was used to such thyngs indede,
And wantyng mony I myght not spede.

Then went I forth by London stone,
Throughout all Canwyke [6] streete ;

[1] Bargain for. [2] Between 6 a.m. and 9 a.m. [3] Paid attention.
[4] Pea-pods. [5] Cheapside. [6] Now Cannon Street.

Drapers mutch cloth me offred anone;
Then comes me one cryed hot shepes feete;
One cryde makerell, ryster [1] grene, an other gan greete [2];
One bad me by a hood to cover my head,
But for want of mony I myght not be sped.

Then I hyed me into Est-Chepe;
One cryes rybbs of befe, and many a pye;
Pewter pottes they clattered on a heape;
There was harpe, pype, and mynstrelsye.
"Yea, by cock! nay, by cock!" some began crye;
Some songe of Jenken and Julyan for their mede;
But for lack of mony I myght not spede.

Then into Corn-Hyl anon I yode,
Where was mutch stolen gere amonge;
I saw where honge myne owne hoode,
That I had lost amonge the thronge:
To by my own hood I thought it wronge,
I knew it well as I dyd my crede,
But for lack of mony I could not spede.

The taverner took mee by the sleeve,
"Sir," sayth he, "wyll you our wyne assay?"
I answered, that can not mutch me greve,
A peny can do no more then it may,
I drank a pynt and for it dyd paye;
Yet sone a hungerd from thence I yode,
And wantyng mony I could not spede.

[Eventually the rustic returns home with a poor opinion of London and lawyers.]

[1] Rushes. [2] Cry.

41. EXTRACTS FROM A FIFTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNT ROLL [A.D. 1425]

SOURCE: Account Roll of the Manors of Miaxter Priory, quoted in Hone, *Manor and Manorial Records.*

Compotus [1] of Sir Richard Parentyn, Prior, and Brother Richard Albon, Canon and Burser there, of all the goods received and delivered by them from the morrow of St Michael the Archangel the third year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after the Conquest to the morrow of the same feast in the fourth year of the said King's reign.

. . . . . .

Necessary Provisions.

And for one great candle bought at the feast of St Kalixtus, Pope this year 2d., and for parchment bought at St Frideswide's fair 6d., and for paper bought at the same time, 4d., and for a box chair bought at London on the feast of St Thomas Apostle, 9s., and in payments to the sub-prior for copperas and galls bought for making ink at the same time 2d., and for 2 lbs. candles bought for the Prior's lantern at Christmas this year, 12d., and for 8 lbs. of wax bought at Oxford the same year to make 2 torches against Christmas for the Prior's Hall, 3s., and for mending an oven of the bakehouse, 1½d., and buttercloth bought for the bakehouse, etc., 10d., and for 2 horse girths with other things bought at the same time for the Prior's stable 6d., and for soap bought for washing the Prior's hall, 1d., and for 19 ells of linen bought for making cloths for the refectory, 5s., and for cloth bought for the bakehouse, 3s. 6d., and for 8 snodes of pack thread bought for making a net for snaring rabbits, 6d., . . . and for 1 lb. of birdlime, 3d., and for a "heres yde" [2] bought for the bakehouse 10d., and for two hand baskets, 7d., and for 4 mats, 13d.

[1] Account or Statement.

[2] Presumably "hair sieve."

Provisions for the Guest House.

For white bread bought at sundry times for the Prior and guests, 3s. 10d., and for beer, to wit, 132½ gallons bought of John Spinan, Alice Bedale and other brewers, 4s. 10d., and for 32 galls. of red wine bought of Richard Brasyer of Burcester[1] at 8d. a gallon, 21s. 4d., and for 3 gallons, 3 quarts of sweet wine bought of the same, at 16d. a gallon, 5s., and for canvas bought at London by Richard Dymby before the feast of St Osith Virgin for making sheets, 3s., etc.

Expenses of Buildings.

To William Hykkedon, working for 4 days making an entrance from the parlour to the Prior's hall, 16d., and for keys bought of John Bette for the same door, 12d., and for hinges, 8d., and to John Coventry with two servants tiling the room called Clykchamber towards the court for 4 days, 3s. 4d., and for 2 iron workers working for 10 days covering with iron the slabs of elm for making the doors and windows, 6s. 8d. And for wainscote bought at Steresbrugge (Stourbridge), 2s. 3d.

Expenses of the Dormitory.

To William Skerne and his fellows hired to dig stones for walls at the quarry beyond Crokkewell, 23s. 4d., and to divers men hired to break stones in the Priory for making mortar 14d., etc., and to John Chepyn for making and cutting 18 corbelstones to place on the aforesaid wall, 5s. 4d. And to John Coventry of Banbury, tiler, for roofing the aforesaid house, 4li. 1d., and for iron standards weighing 28 lbs. with two ventilators, to wit, vanes of tin bought of the smith at Cherlton to place upon either end of the aforesaid dormitory 5s. 2d., and to divers men hired to take

[1] Bicester.

down and carry away the old timber material and stones, 10d.

Expenses of the Kitchen.

For 20 fowls bought by the cook at the feast of St Kalixtus, 20d., and for a quarter of beef bought in Burcester market on the feast of St Thomas Apostle for salting, 16d., and for 1 cade[1] of red herrings bought of Harmand Banbury, 8d. And for pork bought for the clerks of the lord Archbishop sitting at an inquiry at Burcester the Wednesday next before the feast of the Conversion of St Paul, 19d., and for 1 frayle[2] of figs, 3s. 4d., and for 12 lbs. of sparrows' eggs, 13d., and for 3 couple of green fish with a lyng, 3 congers and a couple of hake, 9s. 7d., and for a great chopper called a flesh axe, 15d., etc., and for a saltstone bought for the dovecot, 2½d.

. . . . . .

Fees with Wages of Servants.

For fee of John Langston, steward, holding the court per annum, 26s. 8d. For fee of William Suleman, the Prior's attorney in London, per annum, 6s. 8d., etc. And for wages of John Baldwyn, the Prior's groom of the chamber, this year 13s. 4d. And for wages of William Puffe, baker, per annum 15s. And for wages of William Skynner, his assistant, 10s., and for wages of his wife drying malt this year, 10s. And for wages of William Gulde, barber this year, 6s., and for wages of Catherine Colyers making towels for the kitchen this year, 20d., and for wages of the laundress per annum, 6s., etc.

. . . . . .

Wages of Labourers.

For John Leseby, making fences at the sheepfolds of Wrechwyk and Crockwell, 13d., etc., and to John Soler,

[1] Barrel or cask. [2] A basket made of rushes.

cutting 21 cartloads of underwood at Bernwood, 3s. 2d., etc., and to a certain stranger hired to drive the plough and harrow for 12 days, 12d., etc.

42. "WE BEE MASTERS OF THE NARROWE SEE" [A.D. 1430]

SOURCE: Hakluyt, *Voyages*, II.

Here beginneth the Prologue of the processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe sea[1]; showing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and salvation to England, and to all Englishmen.

The true processe of English policie
Of utterward to keep this regne in
Of our England, that no man may deny,
Ner say of sooth but it is one of the best,
Is this, that who seeth South, North, East and West,
That we bee Masters of the narrowe see.

. . . . . .

For if this sea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere passe without danger and woe?
Who may escape, who may mischiefe differre?
What Merchandie may forby bee agoe?
For needs him must take trewes every foe:
Flanders and Spaine, and other, trust to mee,
Or elles hindred all for this Narrow See.

Therefore I cast mee by a little writing
To shewe at eye this conclusion
For conscience and for mine acquiting
Against God and ageyne abusion,
And cowardise, and to our enemies confusion.

[1] The English Channel.

For foure things our Noble sheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the see.

Where bens our ships, where ben our swerds become ?
Our enemies bed for the ship set a sheepe
Alas our rule halteth, it is benowe.
Who dare soell say that lordship should take keepe ?
I will assay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,
To doe this werke, if wee will ever thee,
For very shame to keepe about the see.

Shall any Prince, what so be his name,
Which hath Nobles moch leche ours,
Bee Lords of see : and Flemings to our blame,
Stop us, take us, and so make fade the flowers
Of English state, and disteyne our honours ?
For cowardise alas it should so bee.
Therefore, I ginne to write nowe of the see.

43. A SONG IN PRAISE OF GOOD ALE

SOURCE: A fifteenth century song, reprinted in T. Wright, *Songs and Carols.* Percy Society.

Bring us in no brown bread, for that is made of bran
Nor bring us in no white bread, for therein is no game,
But bring us in good ale, and bring us in good ale ;
For our blessed Lady's sake, bring us in good ale !

Bring us in no beef, for there is many bones,
But bring us in good ale, for that goeth down at once ;
And bring us in good ale, etc.

Bring us in no bacon, for that is passing fat,
But bring us in good ale, and give us enough of that ;
And bring us in good ale, etc.

Bring us in no mutton, for that is often lean,
Nor bring us in no tripes, for they be seldom clean;
But bring us in good ale, etc.

Bring us in no egges, for there are many shells
But bring us in good ale, and give us nothing else.
And bring us in good ale, etc.

Bring us in no butter, for therein are many hairs;
Nor bring us in no pigges flesh, for that will make us boars:
But bring us in good ale, etc.

Bring us in no puddings, for therein is all God's good;
Nor bring us in no venison, for that is not for our blood;
But bring us in good ale, etc.

Bring us in no capon's flesh, for that is often dear;
Nor bring us in no duck's flesh, for they slobber in the mere;
But bring us in good ale, etc.

44. NAVAL PAY IN THE MIDDLE AGES [A.D. 1450]

SOURCE: *The Black Book of the Admiralty.* Ed. Sir Travers Twiss. Rolls Series.

Item, tis to be taken notice of that when the Admirall rides on horsebacke to gett any men of warr together or abouts any other business of the King's or the realmes, if hee be a knight batchellor hee shall have four shillings sterling a day for his wages, and if hee be an earle or baron hee shall have for wages according to his estate and degree. . . . And besides (if the admirall bee knight batchellor) hee shall have every day at sea four shillings for himselfe and for each chevalier gooing in his company two shillings, and for every escuier arme twelvepence a day, and shall have in consideration of thirty hommes d'armes, at the

end of each quarter of a yeare, one hundred markes, and so hee shall have for every one, and shall also have for each archer sixpence a day, and soo everyone of his captaines shall have their wages of him, and if the admirall is a baron he shall have six shillings and eightpence a day, and if he is an earle he shall have thirteen shillings and fourpence a day. . . .

Item, as to the marriners' wages upon the voyages of the King or the admirall, each master of a shipp shall have sixpence a day, and every constable (or gunner) of the ffleete shall have the same wages by the day.

Item, each marriner shall have threepence halfpenny per diem, and each marriner shall have sixpence per weeke for consideration. And each sea boy shall have twopence halfpenny per diem, the master, gunners, or boys not to have any certain considerations.

45. "SPARE THE ROD" [A.D. 1451]

SOURCE: *The Paston Letters*, I. Ed. Gairdner.

Erands to London of Augnes Paston, the XXVIII day of Jenure, the yer of Kyng Henry the Sext, XXXVI.

To prey Grenefeld to send me feythfully word by wrytyn, who Clement Paston hath do his dever [1] in lernyng. And if he hathe nought do well, nor wyll nought amend, prey hym that he wyll trewly belassch [2] hym, tyl he wyll amend; and so ded the last mastir, and the best that ever he had, at Caambrege. And say Grenefeld that if he wyll take up on hym to brynge hym in to good rewyll [3] and lernyng, that I may verily know he doth hys dever, I wyll geve hyn X marcs for hys labor, for I had lever [4] he were fayr beryed [5] than lost for defaute. . . .

[1] Duty, *i.e.* work.
[2] Thrash.
[3] Rule, *i.e.* ways.
[4] Rather.
[5] Buried.

And if Grenefeld have do wel hys dever to Clement or wyll do hys dever, geffe hym the nobyll.[1]

AGNES PASTON.

46. THE DEFENCE OF A MANSION DURING THE CIVIL WAR [*circa.* A.D. 1458]

SOURCE: *Paston Letters.* Ed. M. D. Jones.

To my right worshipful husband, John Paston.

Right worshipful husband, I recommend me to you, and pray you to get some crossbows and wyndoes[2] to bind them with, and quarrels, for your houses here be so low that there may none man shoot out with no long bow, though we had never so much need.

I suppose ye could have such things of Sir John Fastolf if ye would send to him; and also I would ye should get two or three short poleaxes to keep with[in] doors, and as many jackets, and ye may.

Partrick and his fellowship are sore afraid that ye would enter again upon them and they have made great ordinance within the house, and it is told me they have made bars to bar the doors crosswise, and they have made wickets on every quarter of the house to shoot out at, both with bows and with hand-guns, and the holes that be made for hand-guns, they be scarce knee high from the plancher,[4] and of such holes be made fire, there can none man shoot out of them with no hand-bows. . . .

I pray that ye will vouchsafe to do buy for me one pound of almonds, and one pound of sugar and that ye will do buy some freise to make of your children's gowns; ye shall have best cheap and best choice of Hays's wife, as it is told me. And that ye will buy a yard of broad cloth

[1] Noble, a gold coin value 6s. 8d.
[2] Windlasses with which the bow-string was drawn home.
[3] An arrow with a square head
[4] Floor.

of black for one hood for me of 44d. or four shillings a yard, for there is neither good cloth nor good freise in this town, As for the children's gowns, and I have them I will do them maken.

The Trinity have you in his keeping, and send you good speed in all your matters,

MARGARET PASTON.

47. THE INDENTURE OF AN APPRENTICE [1459]

SOURCE: Ancient Deeds, A 10022, quoted in *Select Documents illustrating English Economic History.*

This indenture made between John Gibbs of Penzance in the county of Cornwall of the one part and John Goffe, Spaniard, of the other part, witnesses that the aforesaid John Goffe has put himself to the aforesaid John Gibbs to learn the craft of fishing, and to stay with him as apprentice and to serve from the feast of Philip and James [May 1st] next to come after the date of these presents until the end of eight years then next ensuing and fully complete; throughout which term the aforesaid John Goffe shall well and faithfully serve the aforesaid John Gibbs and Agnes his wife as his masters and lords, shall keep their secrets, shall everywhere willingly do their lawful and honourable commands, shall do his masters no injury nor see injury done to them by others, but prevent the same as far as he can, shall not waste his master's goods nor lend them to any man without his special command. And the aforesaid John Gibbs and Agnes his wife shall teach, train and inform or cause the aforesaid John Goffe, their apprentice, to be informed in the craft of fishing in the best way they know, chastising him duly and finding for the same John, their apprentice, food, clothing, linen and woollen, and shoes, sufficiently, as befits such an apprentice to be found, during the term aforesaid. And

at the end of the term aforesaid the aforesaid John Goffe shall have of the aforesaid John Gibbs and Agnes his wife 20s. sterling without any fraud. In witness whereof the parties aforesaid have interchangeably set their seals to the parts of this indenture. These witnesses :—Richard Bascawen, Robert Martyn and Robert Cosyn and many others. Given at Penzance, 1 April in the 37th year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after the Conquest of England.

48. REGULATION OF THE PRICE OF BREAD [A.D. 1410]

SOURCE: *Liber Albus*; Riley, *Memorials.*

According to the custom of the City of London an assay of bread ought to be made after the Feast of St Michael in each year, by four discreet men chosen and sworn thereunto: and according to the proportion in weight set by such assay, the bakers ought to bake throughout the whole of that year. Of which procedure the following is the method: the four men so sworn as aforesaid are to buy three quarters of corn, one, namely, upon the pavement in Chepe, one at Greschirche, or at Billyngesgate, and a third at Queen-Hythe: of which corn they are to make wastel (second quality), light bread, and brown bread. And after, with great diligence, they shall have baked such loaves, they shall present them, while hot, unto the Mayor and Alderman at the Guildhall; and there, while so hot, such loaves shall be weighed. Then shall be reckoned the price at which the corn aforesaid was bought, and there shall be allowed for expenses, as to each quarter, the sum of eightpence; the price also shall be reckoned at which the bran was sold, and shall be subtracted from the purchase price.

49. THE EDUCATION OF A PRINCE [A.D. 1473]

SOURCE: A letter from King Edward IV. to the Earl of Rivers and the Bishop of Rochester, quoted in *King's Letters.*

Ordinances, touching the guiding of our said Son's person, which we commit to the said Earl Rivers.

First. We will that our said first-begotten son shall arise every morning at a convenient hour, according to his age; and, till he be ready, no man be suffered to come into his chamber, except the right trusty, the Earl Rivers, his chaplains and chamberlains, or such others as shall be thought by the said Earl Rivers convenient for the same season, which chaplains shall say matins in his presence; and, when he is ready, and the matins said, forthwith to go to his chapel or closet, to have his mass there, and in no wise in his chamber without a cause reasonable, and no man to interrupt him during his masstime.

Item. We will that our said son have, every holy day, all the divine service in his chapel or closet, and that he offer before the altar, according to the custom.

Item. We will that, upon principal feasts and usual days of predications, sermons be said before our said son, and that all his servants be thereat, that may be conveniently spared from their offices.

Item. We will that our said son have his breakfast immediately after his mass, and between that and his meat, to be occupied in such virtuous learning as his age shall suffer to receive. And that he be at his dinner at a convenient hour, and thereat to be honourably served, and his dishes to be borne by worshipful folks and squires, having on our livery, and that all other officers and servants give their due attendance, according to their offices.

Item. That no man sit at his board, but such as shall be thought fit by the discretion of the Earl Rivers, and

that then be read before him such noble stories as behoveth to a prince to understand and know; and that the communication at all times in his presence be of virtue, honour, cunning, wisdom, and of deeds of worship, and of nothing that should move or stir him to vice.

Item. We will that after his meat, in eschewing of idleness, he be occupied about his learning, and after, in his presence, be showed all such convenient disports and exercises, as behoveth his estate to have experience in.

Item. We will that our son go to his even-song at a convenient hour, and that soon after done, to be at his supper, and thereat to be served according as before.

Item. We will that after his supper he have all such honest disports as may be conveniently devised for his recreation.

Item. We will that our said son be in his chamber, and for all night livery to be set, the travers drawn anon upon eight of the clock, and all persons from thence then to be avoided, except such as shall be deputed and appointed to give their attendance upon him all night, and that they enforce themselves to make him merry and joyous towards his bed.

Item. We will that it be seen by his council and officers, that sure and good watch be nightly had about his person, and duly kept for safeguard of the same.

Ordinances concerning his household, which we commit unto the said Bishop of Rochester and Earl Rivers.

Item. We will, that every day be said mass in the hall for the officers of the household, to begin at six of the clock in the morning, and at seven matins to begin in the chapel; and at nine a mass, by note, with children.

Item. We will that our said son have three chaplains, the one of them to be his almoner; and that he will truly,

discreetly, and diligently give and distribute our said son's alms to poor people, and that the said almoner be confessor to the household, and the other two chaplains to say divine service before our said son.

Item. We will that no person, man nor woman, being within our said son's household, be customable swearer, brawler, backbiter, common hazarder, adulterer, and use words of ribawdery, and especially in the presence of our said son.

Item. We will that the sons of noble lords and gentlemen being in the household with our said son, arise at a convenient hour, and hear their mass, and be virtuously brought up and taught in grammar, music, or other training exercises of humanity, according to their births, and after their ages, and in nowise to be suffered in idleness, or in unvirtuous occupation.

Item. We will that daily, except fasting days, the household of our said son be at the first dinner by ten of the clock, and at supper by four; and every fasting day to go to dinner by twelve.

Item. We will that the hall be orderly served, and strangers served and cherished according to their behaviours.

Item. We will that no person, of what condition soever he be, have any service of the court at meal times to their chambers, or out of the gates; but that they keep our son's chamber, or his hall.

Item. We will that none of our said son's council, treasurer or comptroller, or other officer accountant, nor none of our said son's household, lodge without his court, without a reasonable cause showed, and that the ushers make their lodgings as near together as they conveniently may.

Item. We will that our said son's porters give good and diligent attendance to the keeping of the gates, so that [it] be not at any time destitute of one of them; and they, from the 1st of Michaelmas until the 1st of May, be shut at nine of the clock in the evening. and opened in the morning between six and seven, and from the 1st day of May until Michaelmas, the said gates be shut at ten of the clock at night, and to be opened between five and six of the morning, and that the said porters shall not open the said gates after nor afore any of the said hours limited, without a cause reasonable, and license of some of his council, and that they suffer no man to enter the said gates with weapons, but they be left at the same, and no dishonest or unknown person to come in, without his cause be well understood and known; and that they suffer no stuff to be embezzled out of the gates.

50. THE LIBRARY OF AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN [*circa.* A.D. 1470]

SOURCE: Paston Letters. Ed. M. D. Jones.

Note.—The original manuscript of this library catalogue is much decayed. It was written on a piece of paper about 17 inches long, and owing to damp, the words in many places are undecipherable.

Inventory of English Books of John Paston in the reign of Edward IV.

1. A book had of my hostess at the George . . . of the Death of Arthur, beginning at Cassibelan

Guy, Earl of Warwick.

King Richard Cœur de Lyon.

A Chronicle of Edward the III.

2. Item. A book of Troilus which William Br . . . hath had near ten years, and lent it to Dame . . . Wyngfeld, and there I saw it . . . worth . . .

3. Item, a black book with the legend of Lad[ies, . . . la belle Dame] sans Mercy.[1]
The Parliament of Birds.[2]
The Temple of Glass.[3]
Palatyse and Scitacus.
The Meditations of . . .
The Green Knight.[4]

4. Item, A book in print of the Play of the [. . . ? Chess].[5]

5. Item, a book lent by Midleton, and therein is:
Belle Dame sans Mercy.
The Parliament of Birds.
Ballad of Guy and Colbrond.
. . . of the Goose, the . . .
The Disputation between Hope and Despair.
. . . Merchants.
The Life of Saint Chrystopher.

6. A red book that Percival Robsart gave to me; of the Needs of the Mass.
The Lamentation of the child Ipotes.[6]
A Prayer to the Vernicle.[7]

[? A book] Called the Abbey of the Holy Ghost.

7. Item, in quires, Tully de Senectute [8] in whereof there is no more clear writing.

8. Item, in quires, Tully or Cypio,[9] de Amicitia, left with William Worcester.

9. Item, in quires, a book of the Policy of In[? gelond].

10. Item, in quires, a book de Sapientia [10] . . . wherein the second person is likened to Sapience.

[1] Possibly Chaucer's *Legend of Good Ladies.*
[2] Possibly Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls.*
[3] A poem by Lydgate.
[4] A popular ballad.
[5] This was the only printed book; the rest were in manuscript.
[6] A ballad.
[7] A popular legend of the Middle Ages.
[8] Cicero's *De Senectute.*
[9] Scipio.
[10] Lydgate's *Werke of Sapience.*

11. Item, a book de Othea, text and gloss, worth in quires. . . .

Memorandum ; Mine old book of Blazonings of Arms.

Item, the new book portrayed and blazoned.

Item, a copy of Blazonings of Arms, and the names to be found by Letter.[1]

Item, a book with Arms portrayed in paper.

Memorandum ; my book of Knighthood ; and the manner of making of Knights ; of Justs, of Tournaments ; fighting in Lists ; paces holden by soldiers ; and Challenges ; Statutes of War ; and de Regimine Principum.

Item, a book of new Statute from Edward the IV.

51. A MEDIEVAL LOVE LETTER [A.D. 1477]

SOURCE : *Paston Letters*, III. Ed. Gairdner.

Unto my right well-beloved Valentine, John Paston, Squire, be this billet delivered, etc.

Right reverend and worshipful, and my right well-beloved Valentine, I recommend me unto you, full heartily desiring to hear of your welfare, which I beseech Almighty God long for to preserve unto His pleasure, and your heart's desire. And if it please you to hear of my welfare, I am not in good heal of body nor of heart, nor shall be till I hear from you ; For there wotteth [knoweth] no creature what pain that I endure. And for to be dead, I dare it not discure [discover].

And my lady my mother hath laboured the matter to my father full diligently, but she can no more [dowry] get than ye know of, for the which God knoweth I am full sorry. But if that ye love me, as I trust verily that ye do, ye will not leave me therefore ; for if that ye had not half the

[1] Alphabetically.

The Old Library, Lincoln Cathedral

The Sanctuary Knocker, Durham Cathedral

livelihood that ye have, for to do the greatest labour that any woman alive might, I would not forsake you.

> And if ye command me to keep me true wherever I go
> I wis I will do all my might you to love and never no mo.
> And if my frends say, that I do amiss,
> They shall not let me so for to do,
> Mine heart me bids ever more to love you
> Truly over all earthly thing,
> And if they be never so wroth
> I trust it shall be better in time coming.

No more to you at this time, but the Holy Trinity have you in keeping. And I beseech you that this billet be not seen if none earthly creature save only yourself, etc.

And this letter was indited at Topcroft, with full heavy heart, etc.—By your own,

MARGERY BREWS.

52. HOW SANCTUARY WAS CLAIMED [A.D. 1477]

SOURCE: *Sanctuarium Dunelmense*, V. (Surtees Society.)

Let it be remembered that on Oct. 6th, A.D. 1477, William Rome and William Nicholson of the parish of Forsate fled to the cathedral church of St Cuthbert at Durham, where, on account of a felony, amongst other things, committed and publicly confessed by them, namely, the murder by them some time before of William Aliand, they besought from the venerable and holy men, Thomas Haughton, sacristan of the said church, and William Cuthbert, master of the Galilee there, both brothers and monks of the same church, that the sanctuary of the church should be favourably extended to them in accordance with the liberties and privileges conceded to the most glorious confessor Saint Cuthbert of old; and by the ringing of a single bell, as is the custom, this boon was granted them. As witnesses

called and summoned specially for the occasion there were present to see and hear those discreet men, William Heghyngton, Thomas Hudson, John Wrangham and Thomas Strynger.

53. AN ETON BOY'S LETTER [A.D. 1479]

SOURCE: Paston Letters, III. Ed. Gairdner.

To his Worshipful Brother, John Paston, be this delivered in haste.

Right reverend and worshipful brother, after all duties of recommendation, I recommend me to you, desiring to hear of your prosperity and welfare, which I pray God long to continue to His pleasure, and to your heart's desire; letting you know that I received a letter from you, in which letter was 8d., with which I should buy a pair of slippers.

Furthermore, certifying you as for the 13s. 4d., which ye send by a gentleman's man, for my board, called Thomas Newton, was delivered to mine host, and so to my creditor, Mr Thomas Stevenson, and he heartily recommended him [self] to you.

Also, ye send me word in the letter of 12 lbs. of figs and 8 lbs. of raisins. I have them not delivered, but I doubt not I shall have, for Alwedir told me of them, and he said that they came after in another barge.

And as for the young gentlewoman, I will certify you how I first fell in quaintance with her. Her father is dead; there be two sisters of them; the elder is just wedded; at which wedding I was with mine hosts, and also desired by the gentleman himself, called William Swanne, whose dwelling is in Eton.

So it fortuned that mine host reported on me ordinary-wise that I was worthy; so that her mother commanded her to make me good cheer and so in good faith she did. She is not abiding where she is now; her dwelling is in London; but her mother and she came to a place of hers

five miles from Eton where the wedding was, for because it was right to the gentleman which wedded her daughter. And on Monday next coming, that is to say, the first Monday of clene Lent, her mother and she will get to the pardon at Schene [Shene], and set forth to London, and then abide in a place of hers in Bow Churchyard; and if it please you to enquire of her, her mother's name is Mistress Albarrow, the name of the daughter is Margaret Albarrow, the age of her is by all likelihood eighteen or nineteen years at the farthest. And as for the money and plate it is ready whensoever she were wedded; but as for the livelihood, I trow not till after her mother's decease, but I cannot tell you for very certain, but you may know by enquiring. And as for her beauty, judge you that when ye see her, if so be that ye take the labour, and specially behold her hands. . . .

And as for my coming from [leaving] Eton, I lack nothing but versifying, which I trust to have with a little continuance.

> Quare, Quomodo non valet hors, valli mora,
> Unde di' (dictum vel deductum?)
> Arbore jam videas exemplum. Non die passunt,
> Omnia suppleri; sed tamen illa mora;

and these two verses aforesaid be of mine own making.

No more to you at this time, but God have you in His keeping.

Written at Eton, the even of Saint Matthew the Apostle, in haste, with the hand of your brother.

WILLIAM PASTON, JUN.

54. A KING'S WARDROBE [A.D. 1483]

SOURCE: Letter from King Richard III. to the Keeper of his Wardrobe, quoted in *King's Letters.*

We will and charge you to deliver to the bringers hereof for us the parcels following: that is to say, one doublet of

purple satin, lined with Holland cloth and interlined with busk. One doublet of tawny satin lined in likewise; two short gowns of crimson cloth of gold, the one with drips, and the other with nets lined with green velvet; one stomacher of purple satin and one stomacher of tawny satin; one cloak with a cape of velvet ingrained, the bow lined with black velvet; one gown of green velvet lined with tawny satin; one yard and three-quarters course of silk, meddled with gold, and as much black course of silk for our spurs; two yards and a half, and three nails of white cloth of gold for a crynetze for a board; five yards of black velvet for the lining of a gown of green satin; three pair of spurs short, all gilt; three pair of spurs long, white parcel gilt; one banner of sarsenet of Our Lady; one banner of Saint George; three coats of arms beaten with fine gold for our own person; five coat armours for heralds, lined with buckram; forty trumpet banners of sarsenet, etc.

55. THE USE OF BEACONS AS A MEANS OF ALARM [A.D. 1485]

SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, III.

For the custom of the countries adjoining near to the sea is (especially in the time of war), on every hill or high place to erect a beacon with a great lantern in the top, which may be seen and discerned a great space off. And when the noise is once bruited that the enemies approach near the land, they suddenly put fire in the lanterns, and make shouts and outcries from town to town, and from village to village. Some run in post from place to place, admonishing the people to be ready to resist the jeopardy and defend the peril. And by this policy the fame is soon blown to every city and town, insomuch that as well the citizens as the rural people be in short space assembled and armed to repel and put back the new arrived enemies.

(Whereas if the necessary use of this visible warning were neglected, the policy of the enemy might privily so prevail, as that the people should sooner fall into peril irrecoverable, than they could think on (much less provide) means to avoid it.)

56. "THE NUT BROWN MAID" A FIFTEENTH CENTURY BALLAD

This ballad, "the masterpiece of English Poetry in the fifteenth century," was first printed in Arnold's *Chronicle* about 1521. The ballad, however, is undoubtedly of earlier date.

[The hero of the ballad is a proscribed squire, who, on the point of being taken, has to choose between a shameful death and a life in the depths of the forest. His betrothed, who is of noble birth, wishes to share his dangers]:

He. It standeth so; a deed is do'
Wherefore much harm shall grow
My destiny is for to die
A shameful death, I trow;
Or else to flee: the one must be,
None other way I know,
But to withdraw as an outlaw,
And take me to my bow.
Wherefore adieu, my own heart true!
None other rede[1] I can
For I must to the green wood go
Alone, a banished man.

She. O Lord, what is this world's bliss,
That changeth as the moon!
My summer's day, in lusty May
Is darked before the noon.

[1] Plan.

I hear you say, Farewell: Nay, nay,
We depart not so soon.
Why say ye so? whither will ye go?
Alas! what have ye done?
All my welfare to sorrow and care
Should change if ye were gone;
For in my mind, of all mankind
I love but you alone.

He. I can believe, it shall you grieve
And somewhat you distrain:
But afterward, your paines hard
Within a day or twain
Shall soon aslake, and ye shall take,
Comfort to you again.
Why should ye ought, for to make thought?
Your labour were in vain.
And thus I do, and pray you to,
As heartily as I can;
For I must to the green wood go,
Alone, a banished man.

She. Now sith that ye have shewed to me
The secret of your mind,
I shall be plain to you again
Like as ye shall me find.
Sith it is so that ye will go,
I will not live behind;
Shall it be said, the Nut Brown Maid
Was to her love unkind?
Make you ready, for so am I
Although it were anon;
For, in my mind, of all mankind,
I love but you alone.

. . . . . .

He. Yet take good heed, for ever I dread
That ye could not sustain
The thorny ways, the deep valleys,
The snow, the frost, the rain,
The cold, the heat, for dry or wete
We must lodge on the plain ;
And us above, none other roof,
But a brake bush or twain :
Which soon should grieve you, I believe,
And ye would gladly than
That I had to the green wood go
Alone, a banished man.

She. Sith I have here been partiner
With you of joy and bliss,
I must also part of your wo
Endure, as reason is.
Yet I am sure of one pleasure,
And, shortly, it is this,
That where ye be, meseemeth, pardie,
I could not fare amiss.
Without more speech, I you beseech
That ye were soon agone,
For, in my mind, of all mankind,
I love but you alone.

He. If ye go thither ye must consider
When ye have lust [1] to dine
There shall no meat be for to gete,
Nor drink, beer, ale, nor wine,
No sheetes clean, to lie between,
Made of thread and twine ;
None other house but leaves and boughs
To cover your head and mine.
Lo, mine heart sweet, this evil diet

[1] Desire.

Should make you pale and wan ;
Wherefore I will to the green wood go,
Alone, a banished man.

She. Among the wild deer, such an archer
As men sae that ye be
Ye may not fail of good vittail
Where is so great plentie.
And water clear of the river
Shall be full sweet to me
With which in heal, I shall right weel
Endure, as ye shall see ;
And ere we go, a bed or two
I can provide anone ;
For in my mind, of all mankind,
I love but you alone.

He. Lo, yet before, ye must do more,
If ye will go with me ;
As cut your hair up by your ear
Your kirtle by the knee ;
With bow in hand, for to withstand,
Your enemies, if need be ;
And this same night, before day-light
To woodward will I flee,
If that ye will all this fulfil
Do't shortly as ye can ;
Else will I to the green wood go,
Alone, a banished man.

But these and still sterner tests the Nut Brown Maid is prepared to undergo for her squire, who in the end turns out to be the son of Earl of Westmoreland ; and all ends happily in the last verse :

[1] Desire.

He. Ye shall not need further to dread
I will not disparage,
You (God defend !), sith ye descend
Of so great lineage.
Now understand to Westmoreland
Which is my heritage,
I will you bring ; and with a ring
By way of marriage,
I will you take and lady make
As shortly as I can ;
Thus have ye won an earl's son
And not a banished man.

BOOK THREE

1485–1603

READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS

1. SOME PROVERBS FROM TUDOR TIMES [*circa* 1486].

SOURCE: Wm. Camden, *Remains concerning Britain.*

A BOW long bent at last waxeth weak.
A curr will bite before he bark.
A grunting horse and a groaning wife never fails their Master.
Age and wedlock tames man and beast.
A leg of a lark is better than the body of a kyte.
An ill cook cannot lick his own fingers.
An inch in a miss is as good as an ell.
Batchelers wives and maids' children be well taught.
Better one bird in the hand than ten in the wood.
Beware the geese when the Fox preaches.
Children and chickens are always feeding.
Dinners cannot be long where dainties want.
Every man cannot hit the nail on the head.
Few Lawyers dye well: Few physicians live well.
Foul water as soon as fair will quench hot fire.
God sends meat, the devil sends Cooks.
He that will have a Hare to breakfast must hunt over night.
He that winketh with one eye, and looketh with the other,
I will not trust him though he were my brother.
Jack would be a gentleman if he could speak French.
Ill putting a naked sword in a mad man's hand.
It is merry in hall when beards wag all.

Kissing goes by favour.
Like the Flounder, out of the frying-pan into the fire.
Many kiss the child for the Nurse's sake.
Many stumble at a straw, and leap over a block.
Need hath no law.
Of a ragged colt cometh a good horse.
One ill weed marreth a whole pot of pottage.
Old men and far travellers may lie by authority.
Puff not against the wind.
Pouring oyl into the fire is not the way to quench it.
Remove an old tree, and it will dye.
Saying and doing are two things.
Somewhat is better than nothing.
Speak fair, and think what you will.
The Crow thinketh her own birds fairest.
The more thy Years, the nigher thy Grave's.
Three may keep counsel if two be away.
When the head aketh all the body is the worse.
Who is worse shod than the Shoemaker's wife ?
You are as seasonable as Snow in Summer.
Young men may die, but old must die.

2. THE REVENUES OF HENRY VII. [*circa* 1498]

SOURCE: *A Relation, or rather a true Account, of the Island of England; with sundry particulars of the Customs of these people and of the royal Revenues under King Henry the Seventh, about the year* 1500. Translated from the Italian by C. A. Sneyd. Camden Society, 1847.

From the time of William the Conqueror to the present no king has reigned more peaceably than he [Henry VII] has, his great prudence causing him to be universally feared; and though frugal to excess in his own person, he does not change any of the ancient usages of England at his court, keeping a sumptuous table, as I had the opportunity of witnessing twice that your Magnificence dined there, when

I judged that there might be from 600 to 700 persons at dinner. And his people say that his Majesty spends upon his table £14,000 sterling annually, which is equal to 70,000 crowns. And it is possible that his own personal expenses, those of the queen and of his children, and the military escort who compose his guard, and are from 150 to 200 in number, besides the many civilities that he pays to foreigners, may amount to £20,000 sterling, as it is said they do. And, although this appears a large sum, it forms a very small item in the revenue of the crown which I understand to be as follows :

Eighty thousand marks was the sum appointed in days of yore for the King's maintenance [about 240,000 crowns].

For the maintenance of the Queen, 10,000 marks were allotted [30,000 crowns].

For the King's eldest son, *i.e.* the Prince of Wales, 20,000 crowns.

Therefore the ordinary income for the maintenance of the King, Queen and Prince, amounts to 290,000 crowns. . . . To this income of 290,000 crowns, another ordinary one is added, of this kind :—when any princes of the realm die without leaving heirs, their military services revert *ipso facto* to the crown ; thus, it receives the revenues the Duke of Lancaster possessed, and they are entered into the royal chamber, called the Exchequer, which revenues amount to a third of the sum allotted to the Crown, which would be 80,000 crowns.

It also takes the income of the Duke of York, which is . . . 75,000 crowns.

These two immense incomes are not to be wondered at, because those princes were Kings' sons, and their fathers, though they could not dismember the kingdom, chose that their younger sons should have wherewithal to live according to their rank.

The Duchy of Clarence has also reverted to the crown, which was worth . . . 36,000 crowns.

That of Somerset valued at . . . 24,000 crowns.

Also that of Gloucester, valued at . . . 18,000 crowns.

That of Exeter worth . . . 15,000 crowns.

The Duchy of Bedford, worth 9,000 crowns. . . .

These form an income of 547,000 crowns.

The English do not reckon their gabel, which they call *customs*, in the ordinary income. These were originally levied for the supply of the crown, a duty of threepence being paid on every twenty shillings' worth of merchandise that came in or went out of the kingdom. Subsequently, to enable the King to keep the coast free from pirates, this duty was raised from three to fifteen pence. And this gabel or custom produces on an average £20,000 sterling, on 100,000 crowns annually.

In this custom is not included the duty upon wools, which are carried into Europe by sea, and pay the third of their value to the King. This very heavy tax was imposed in order to prevent the raw material being carried out of the country, and to encourage the home manufacture of cloth. This brings in about £40,000 sterling or 200,000 crowns.

All these then, united, form an income of 847,000 crowns.

There is also another duty upon the wools which are taken to Calais, and from thence sent out into Europe by land. This duty is called by these people *the Staple*. But all the proceeds of the said woolstaple are assigned to the maintenance of the guard at Calais and Berwick; and are therefore not included in the revenue.

The King need never be in want of more money still, should he require it, for, whenever any of his feudatories die, leaving their children minors, he takes the charge of the said children till they are of age, keeping in the mean-

time all the profits of their estates for his own use. And, should the wife of any such feudatory remain a widow without children, his Majesty inherits everything; because, according to the custom of the country, no one can marry again without the royal permission, and, to shorten matters, when they wish to obtain such a permission, they pay a large sum of money; and I understand that his Majesty makes more than 50,000 crowns per annum by the widows and wards.

It is no inconsiderable sum either that he obtains from cathedral churches, monasteries and other benefices, whose revenues are enjoyed by the crown during vacancy, for which reason such vacancies are not very speedily filled up.

And if the abbeys founded by the crown do not actually pay money to the King, they are obliged to defray the expenses of one, two, or three gentlemen, and as many horses, with their keep, at the pleasure of his Majesty. Because whenever the King wishes to bestow an easy life upon one of the servants, he makes some one of these monasteries pay his expenses. . . .

If the king should go to war, he does not content himself with his ordinary income, but he immediately compels the clergy to pay him one, two, or three fifteenths, or tenths, as is the custom with us, or more, if the urgency of the war should require it.

One fifteenth is worth £12,000 sterling. . . . And if it should be a case of glory, or necessity, such as a war with France or Scotland would be, on the requisition of so wise a king as Henry the Seventh, the three estates before named would always agree to give him one, two, or three fifteenths, and a fifteenth of the three estates is worth £37,930 sterling. . . .

Although the crown has many offices in its gift, both for the service of the public and for the royal household, yet

there are some which receive pay from the King, and others which do not; such as the Constable, who is the Commander-in-Chief of the royal army, and the Marshal, who is at the head of the artillery, the Admiral of the sea, the great Steward of the household, and the Chamberlain; of the other class, which comprises the more useful offices, are the High Chancellor, who is the superintendent of all the justice of the kingdom (the receipts of this office not only suffice for the wants and remuneration of its possessor, but to pay all the other legal officers besides); also the President of the Council, the Privy Seal, the Master of Requests, and many others of a like nature, which are all given by the King for life.

3. AN ITALIAN VIEW OF ENGLISH LIFE [1500]

SOURCE: As No. 2.

The English are, for the most part, both men and women of all ages, handsome and well-proportioned; though not quite so much so, in my opinion, as it had been asserted to me, before your Magnificence went to that Kingdom; and I have understood from persons acquainted with these countries that the Scotch are much handsomer; and that the English are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that "he looks like an Englishman," and that "it is a great pity that he should not be an Englishman"; and when they partake of any delicacy with a foreigner, they ask him "whether such a thing is made in *their* country?" They take pleasure in having a quantity of excellent victuals, and also in remaining a long time at table, being very sparing of wine when they drink it at their own expense. And this, it is said, they do in order to induce their other

English guests to drink wine in moderation also; not considering it any inconvenience for three or four persons to drink out of the same cup. Few people keep wine in their own houses, but buy it for the most part at a tavern; and when they mean to drink a great deal, they go to the tavern, and this is done not only by the men, but by ladies of distinction. The deficiency of wine, however, is amply supplied by the abundance of ale and beer, to the use of which these people are become so habituated, that, at an entertainment where there is plenty of wine, they will drink them in preference to it, and in great quantities. Like discreet people, however, they do not offer them to Italians, unless they should ask for them; and they think that no greater honour can be conferred or received, than to invite others to eat with them, or to be invited themselves; and they would sooner give five or six ducats to provide an entertainment for a person, than a groat to assist him in any distress.

They all from time immemorial wear very fine clothes, and are extremely polite in their language; which, although it is, as well as the Flemish, derived from the German, has lost its natural harshness, and is pleasing enough as they pronounce it. In addition to their civil speeches, they have the incredible courtesy of remaining with their heads uncovered with an admirable grace, whilst they talk to each other. They are gifted with good understandings, and are very quick at everything they apply their minds to; few, however, excepting the clergy, are addicted to the study of letters; and this is the reason why any one who has learning, though he may be a layman, is called by them *a Clerk*. And yet they have great advantages for study, there being two general Universities in the kingdom, Oxford and Cambridge; in which are many colleges founded for the maintenance of poor scholars. And your Magnificence lodged at one named Magdalen, in the University of Oxford,

of which the founders having been prelates, so the scholars are also ecclesiastics.

The common people apply themselves to trade, or to fishing, or else they practise navigation; and they are so diligent in mercantile pursuits that they do not fear to make contracts on usury.

Although they all attend Mass every day and say many Paternosters in public (the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read taking the office of our Lady with them, and with some companion reciting it in the church verse by verse, in a low voice, after the manner of churchmen), they always hear mass on Sunday in their parish church, and give liberal alms because they may not offer less than a piece of money, of which fourteen are equivalent to a golden ducat; nor do they omit any form incumbent upon good Christians; there are, however, many who have various opinions concerning religion.

They have a very high reputation in arms; and from the great fear the French entertain of them, one must believe it to be justly acquired. But I have it on the best information, that when war is raging most furiously, they will seek for good eating, and all their other comforts, without thinking of what harm might befal them.

They have an antipathy to foreigners, and imagine that they never come into their island but to make themselves masters of it, and to usurp their goods; neither have they any sincere and solid friendships amongst themselves, insomuch that they do not trust each other to discuss either public or private affairs together in the confidential manner we do in Italy. And although their dispositions are somewhat licentious, I never have noticed any one, either at court or among the lower orders, to be in love; whence one must necessarily conclude, either that the English are the most discreet lovers in the world, or that they are incapable of love. I say this of the men, for I understand

it is quite the contrary with the women, who are very violent in their passions. Howbeit the English keep a very jealous guard over their wives, though anything may be compensated in the end by the power of money.

The want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children; for after having kept them at home till they arrive at the age of seven or nine years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people, binding them generally for another seven or nine years. And these are called apprentices, and during that time they perform all the most menial offices; and few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own.

And on enquiring their reason for this severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners. But I, for my part, believe that they do it because they like to enjoy all their comforts themselves, and that they are better served by strangers than they would be by their own children. Besides which the English, being great epicures and very avaricious by nature, indulge in the most delicate fare themselves and give their household the coarsest bread and beer, and cold meat baked on Sunday for the week, which, however, they allow them in great abundance. That if they had their own children at home, they would be obliged to give them the same food they made use of for themselves. That if the English sent their children away from home to learn virtue and good manners, and took them back again when their apprenticeship was over, they might perhaps be excused; but they never return, for the girls are settled by their patrons, and the boys make the best marriages they can, and assisted by their patrons, not by their fathers, they also open a house and strive diligently

by this means to make some future for themselves; whence it proceeds that, having no hope of their paternal inheritance, they all become so greedy of gain that they feel no shame in asking, almost "for the love of God," for the smallest sums of money; and to this it may be attributed, that there is no injury that can be committed against the lower orders of the English that may not be atoned for by money.

Nevertheless, the apprentices for the most part make good fortunes, some by one means, and some by another, but above all, those who happen to be in the good grace of the mistress of the house in which they are domiciliated at the time of the death of the master; because, by the ancient custom of the country, every inheritance is divided into three parts; for the Church and funeral expenses, for the wife, and for the children. . . .

4. THE FURNITURE OF THE GILD HALL AT EXETER [1504]

SOURCE: *The Original Ordinances of Early English Gilds.* Ed. Toulmin Smith. Spelling modernised.

Goods in the Gild Hall, 20 *H. VII.*

Here followeth the implements of the Taylour's Hall, being within the place in the year being Master of the occupation Richard Chubb, in the XXth year of Henry VII. of Exeter.

To be noted, that there remaineth, first in the hall, a painted cloth on the high dais; two little benches by every side, one by the chimney, one nailed to the wall; a plank table, with two tressels, at the high dais; a table in the side of the hall, and a form; a bench in the inside of the table; also, in the parlour, a bedstead; also, in the spence [buttery], a table plank and two shelves; also, in the chamber next to the hall, a long coffer without locks or keys, and a bedstead: also a brass pot, a platter of pewters, four quarters of a violet gown for a woman, a brooch . . .

The Guildhall, Exeter

Cardinal Wolsey and his suite in progress

two new torches but little burnt, and four ends of torches; a streamer and a banner, a box with four evidence [deeds] with three other writings: and a seal of silver of the brotherhood.

5. THE OATH ADMINISTERED TO A GILD APPRENTICE [1504]

SOURCE: *Records of the Mercers' Company.*

"Ye shall swear that ye shall be true unto our liege lord, the King, and to his heirs, Kings. Also ye shall swear that well and truly to your power ye shall serve your Master during the term of your apprenticeship. And ye shall hold and form the covenants in your indenture of apprenticeship contained. Also ye shall hold stedfastly, secretly and for counsel all and every the lawful ordinances, whatsoever they be, to the Craft or occupation of the Mercery belonging, and, as much as in you is, every of them, ye shall observe, hold and keep, and not to break, discover, open or shew any of them to any person, but unto such as unto the fellowship of the Mercery is here according to this oath sworn. And that ye shall not depart out and from the said fellowship for to serve, not to be accompanied with any manner of person of any other company, fellowship, occupation or craft, whereby any prejudice, hurt, or harm may grow or be unto the fellowship of the Mercery or any of the secrets thereof thereby to be discovered or known. So help you God, and all Saints, and by this Book."

6. WOLSEY'S PRINCELY HOUSEHOLD [1515]

SOURCE: Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey.* Ed. Singer (1825).

Now to speak of the order of his (Wolsey's) house and officers, I think it necessary here to be remembered. First ye shall understand, that he had in his hall, daily, three special tables furnished with three principal officers; that is to say, a steward, which was always a dean or a priest;

a treasurer, a knight; and a comptroller, an esquire; which bare always within his house their white staves. Then he had a cofferer, three marshals, two yeomen ushers, two grooms, and an almoner. He had in the hall kitchen, two clerks of his kitchen, a clerk comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerk of his spicery. Also there in his hall kitchen he had two master cooks, and twelve other labourers, and children as they called them; a yeoman of his scullery, and two other in his silver scullery: two yeomen of his pantry and two grooms. Now in his privy kitchen he had a master cook, who went daily in damask satin, or velvet, with a chain of gold about his neck; and two grooms, with six labourers and children to serve in that place; in the larder there, a yeoman and a groom; in the scalding house, a yeoman and two grooms; in the scullery there two persons; in the buttery, two yeomen and two grooms, with two other pages; in the pantry, two yeomen, two grooms, and two other pages; and in the ewery likewise; in the cellar, three yeomen, two grooms, and two pages; beside a gentleman for the month; in the chaundery, three persons; in the wafery, two; in the wardrobe of beds, the master of the wardrobe and ten other persons; in the laundry, a yeoman, a groom and three pages; of purveyors, two and one groom; in the bakehouse, a yeoman and two grooms; in the wood-yard, a yeoman and a groom; in the garner, one; in the garden, a yeoman and two labourers. Now at the gate, he had of porters, two tall yeomen and two grooms; a yeoman of his barge; in the stable he had a master of his horse, a clerk of the stable, a yeoman of the same; a saddler, a farrier, a yeoman of his chariot, a sumpter-man, a yeoman of his stirrup; a muleteer; sixteen grooms of his stable, everyone of them keeping four great geldings: in the almeseria, a yeoman and a groom.

Now I will declare unto you the officers of his chapel and singing men of the same. First, he had there a dean,

who was always a great clerk and a divine; a sub-dean; a repeater of the quire; a gospeller, a pisteller; and twelve singing priests; of scholars he had first, a master of the children, twelve singing children, sixteen singing men, with a servant to attend upon the said children.

In the revestry, a yeoman and two grooms: then were there divers retainers of cunning singing men, that came thither at divers sundry principal feasts. But to speak of the furniture of his chapel passeth my capacity to declare the number of the costly ornaments and rich jewels that were occupied in the same continually. For I have seen there, in a procession, worn forty-four copes of one suit, very rich, besides the sumptuous crosses, candlesticks, and other necessary ornaments to the comely furniture of the same. Now shall ye understand that he had two cross bearers, and two pillar bearers: and in his chamber, all these persons; that is to say: his high chamberlain, his vice-chamberlain; twelve gentlemen ushers, daily waiters; besides two in his privy chamber; and of the gentlemen waiters in his privy chamber he had six; and also he had of lords nine or ten, who had each of them allowed two servants; and the Earl of Derby had allowed five men. Then had he of gentlemen, as cupbearers, carvers, servers, and gentlemen daily waiters, forty persons; of yeomen ushers he had six; of grooms in his chamber he had eight; of yeomen of his chamber he had forty-six daily to attend upon his person; he had also a priest there which was his almoner, to attend upon his table at dinner. Of doctors and chaplains attending in his closet to say daily mass before him, he had sixteen persons; and a clerk of his closet. Also he had two secretaries, and two clerks of his signet; and four counsellors learned in the laws of the realm.

And for as much as he was Chancellor of England, it was necessary for him to have divers officers of the chancery

to attend daily upon him, for the better furniture of the same. That is to say; first, he had the clerk of the crown, a riding clerk, a clerk of the hanaper, a chafer of wax. Then he had a clerk of the check as well to check his chaplains, as his yeomen of the chamber; he had also four footmen, which were apparrelled in rich running coats, whensoever he rode any journey. Then he had a herald at arms, and a sergeant at arms; a physician; an apothecary; four minstrels; a keeper of his tents, an armourer; an instructor of his wards; two yeomen in his wardrobe; and a keeper of his chamber in the court. He had also daily in his house the surveyor of York, a clerk of the green cloth; and an auditor. All this number of persons were daily attendant upon him in his house, down-lying and uprising.

And at meals there was continually in his chamber a board kept for his chamberlain and gentlemen ushers, having with them a mess of the young lords and another for gentlemen. Besides all these, there was never an officer and gentleman, or any other worthy person in his house, but he was allowed some three, some two servants; and all other one at the least; which amounted to a great number of persons.

. . . Therefore here I make an end of his household; whereof the number was about the sum of five hundred persons according to his checker roll.

7. HOW WOLSEY ENTERTAINED THE KING [1516]

SOURCE: As No. 6.

And when it pleased the king's majesty, for his recreation, to repair unto the cardinal's house, as he did divers times in the year, at which time there wanted no preparations, or goodly furniture, with viands of the finest sort that might be provided for money or friendship. Such pleasures were then devised for the king's comfort and consolation

as might be invented, or by man's wit imagined. The banquets were set forth, with masks and mummeries, in so gorgeous a sort, and costly manner, that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames, or damsels, meet or apt to dance with the maskers, or to garnish the place for a time, with other goodly disports. Then there was all kind of music and harmony set forth with excellent voices both of men and children. I have seen the king suddenly come in thither in a mask, with a dozen other maskers, all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold and fine crimson satin paned, and caps of the same, with visors of good proportion of visnomy; their hairs and beards, either of fine gold wire, or else of silver, and some being of black silk; having sixteen torch bearers, besides their drums, and other persons attending upon them, with visors, and clothed all in satin of the same colours. And at his coming, and before he came into the hall, ye shall understand, that he came by water to the water gate, without any noise; where against his coming were laid charged many chambers, and at his landing they were all shot off, which made such a rumble in the air, that it was like thunder. It made all the noblemen, ladies and gentlemen, to muse what it should mean coming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a solemn banquet; under this sort: first, ye shall perceive that the tables were set in the chamber of presence, banquet-wise covered, my Lord Cardinal sitting under the cloth of estate, and there having his service all alone; and then was there set a lady and a nobleman, or a gentleman and gentlewoman, throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made and joined as it were but one table. All which order and device was done and devised by the Lord Sands, Lord Chamberlain to the king; and also by Sir Henry Guilford, Comptroller to the king. Then immediately after this great shot of guns, the cardinal desired the Lord Chamberlain, and Comptroller, to look what

this sudden shot should mean, as though he knew nothing of the matter. They thereupon looking out of the windows into the Thames, returned again, and showed him, that it seemed to them there should be some noblemen and strangers arrived at his bridge, as ambassadors from some foreign prince. With that, quoth the cardinal, "I shall desire you, because ye can speak French, to take the pains to go down into the hall to encounter and to receive them, according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see us, and all these noble personages sitting merrily at our banquet, desiring them to sit down with us, and to take part of our fare and pastime." Then they went incontinent down into the hall, where they received them with twenty new torches, and conveyed them up into the chamber, . . . two and two together, they went directly before the cardinal where he sat, saluting him very reverently; to whom the Lord Chamberlain for them said: "Sir, for as much as they be strangers, and can speak no English, they have desired me to declare unto your grace thus: they, having understanding of this your triumphant banquet, where was assembled such a number of excellent fair dames, could do no less, under the supportation of your good grace, but to repair hither to view as well their incomparable beauty, as for to accompany them at mumchance, and then after to dance with them, and so to have of them acquaintance. And, sir, they furthermore require of your Grace licence to accomplish the cause of their repair." To whom the cardinal answered, that he was very well contented they should so do. Then the maskers went first and saluted all the dames as they sat, and then returned to the most worthiest, and there opened a cup full of gold, with crowns and other pieces of coin, to whom they set divers pieces to cast at. Thus in this manner perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, and to some they lost, and of some they won. And thus done, they returned unto the

cardinal, with great reverence, pouring down all the crowns in the cup, which was about two hundred crowns. "At all," quoth the cardinal, and so cast the dice, and won them all at a cast; whereat was great joy made. Then quoth the cardinal to my Lord Chamberlain, "I pray you," quoth he, "show them that it seemeth me that there should be among them some noble man, whom I suppose to be much more worthy of honour to sit and occupy this room and place than I; to whom I would most gladly, if I knew him, surrender my place according to my duty." Then spake my Lord Chamberlain unto them in French, declaring my Lord Cardinal's mind, and they rounding him again in the ear, my Lord Chamberlain said to my Lord Cardinal, "Sir, they confess," quoth he, "that among them there is such a noble personage, whom, if your grace can appoint him from the other, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept your place most worthily." With that the cardinal, taking a good advisement among them, at the last, quoth he, "Me seemeth the gentlemen with the black beard should be even he." And with that he arose out of his chair, and offered the same to the gentleman in the black beard, with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered then his chair was Sir Edward Neville, a comely knight of a goodly personage, that much more resembled the king's person in that mask, than any other. The king, hearing and perceiving the cardinal so deceived in his estimate and choice, could not forbear laughing, but plucked down his visor, and Master Neville's also, and dashed out with such a pleasant countenance and cheer, that all noble estates there assembled, seeing the king to be there amongst them, rejoiced very much. The cardinal eftsoons desired his highness to take the place of estate, to whom the king answered, that he would go first and shift his apparel; and so departed, and went straight into my lord's bedchamber, where was a great fire made and prepared

for him; and there new apparelled him with rich and princely garments. And in the time of the king's absence, the dishes of the banquet were clean taken up, and the tables spread again with new and sweet perfumed cloth; every man sitting still until the king and his maskers came in among them again, every man being newly apparelled. Then the king took his seat under the cloth of estate, commanding no man to remove, but sit still, as they did before. Then in came a new banquet before the king's majesty, and to all the rest through the tables, wherein, I suppose, were served two hundred dishes or above of wondrous costly meats and devices, subtilly devised. Thus passed they forth the whole night with banqueting, dancing, and other triumphant devices, to the great comfort of the king, and pleasant regard of the nobility there assembled.

All this matter I have declared at large, because ye shall understand what joy and delight the cardinal had to see his prince and sovereign lord in his house so nobly entertained and pleased, which was always his only study, to devise things to his comfort, not passing of the charge or expenses. It delighted him so much to have the king's pleasant princely presence, that no thing was to him more delectable than to cheer his sovereign lord, to whom he owed so much obedience and loyalty; as reason required no less, all things well considered.

8. AN ETON BOY'S DAY IN 1530

SOURCE: An account written by the then Headmaster of Eton, and quoted in Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents.*

This ys the order of the same schole (Eton) usyd by me Richard cox, scholemaster.

They come to schole at vj of the Clok in ye mornyng; they say Deus misereatur with a Colecte; at ix they say de profundis and go to brekefaste. With in a quarter of an

howre cum ageyne and tary [until] xi and then to dyner, at v to soper, afore an Antheme and De profundis.

Two prepositors in every forme, whiche doth give in a schrowe [scroll] the absents Namys at any lecture and shewith when and at what tyme, both in the fore none for the tyme paste, and at v.

Also ij prepositors in the body of the Chirche, ij in the qwere, ffor spekyng of Laten in the thred forme and all other, every one a custos and in every howse a monytor.

Whan they go home ij and ij in order, a monitor to se that they do soe tyll they come at there hostise dore.

Also prevy monytors how many the Mr wylle.

Prepositors in the feld whan they play, for fyghtyng, rent clothes, blew eyes, or siche like.

Prepositors for yll kept hedys, unwasshid facys, fowle clothis and sich other.

Yff there be iiij or v in a howse, monytors for chydyng and for latyn spekyng.

When any dothe come newe, the master doth inquire fro whens he comyth, what frendys he hathe, whether there be any plage, No man gothe owte off the schole, nother home to his frends, with owt ye masters lycence. Yff there be any dullard the Mr gyvith his frends warnyng and puttyth hym away, that he sclander not the schole.

9. THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES [A.D. 1534–38]

SOURCE: Wright, *Letters relating to the suppression of the Monasteries.* Spelling modernised. Camden Society.

(a) *The "Visions" of the Holy Maid of Kent.*[1]

[A Letter to Secretary Cromwell.]

. . . First, of an angel that appeared and bade the nun go unto the king, that infidel prince of England, and say that

[1] Elizabeth Barton, originally a servant, and subject to strange epileptic fits, was chosen as an instrument of deception by certain monks, and was

I command him to amend his life, and that he leave three things which he loveth and purposeth upon: that is, that he take none of the Pope's right nor patrimony from him; the second, that he destroy all these new folks of opinion and the works of their new learning; the third, that if he married and took Anne [Boleyn] to wife the vengeance of God should plague him, and (as she saith) she showed this unto the King. . . .

Item, another season after the angel commanded her to go unto the said Cardinal [Wolsey], and show him of his fall, and that he had not done as she had commanded him by the will of God. . . .

Item, that since he died she saw the disputation of the devils for his soul, and how she was three times lifted up and could not see him neither in heaven, hell, nor purgatory, and at the last where she saw him, and how by her penance he was brought unto heaven, and what souls she saw fly through purgatory. . . .

Item, that the angel commanded her to go to another monk, and bid him burn the New Testament that he had in English, and of great visions seen by the same in token of grace.

Item, that she did show unto Doctor Boking the hour of his death. . . .

Item, of such persons as the angel of God hath appointed

taught to pretend to have visions and revelations. She was placed as a nun in the priory of St Sepulchre at Canterbury, and her pretended visions were recorded and formed into a book. About this time, however, public feeling was roused to a high pitch by Henry VIII.'s divorce from Catherine of Aragon, and by his quarrel with the Pope, and the "holy maid" was seized and examined in the Star Chamber, where she confessed her conspiracy and accomplices. She was condemned to death and executed on April 24th, 1524. Many eminent men, including even Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, were either deceived, or gave encouragement to the deceptions practised by the "holy maid." The revelations that followed her examination in the Star Chamber did much to bring the monks into disfavour and to hasten the dissolution of the monasteries.

to be at her death, when she shall receive the crown of martyrdom, and the time, with the place.

Item, of 9/9/9, the reign of the King, how long he shall reign, as sayeth a prophecy which agreeth with her saying. . . .

(b) *List of the "Holy Maid's" property.*

Stuff received the 16th day of February, of dame Elisabeth Barton, by the hands of the prioress of Saint Sepulchre's without Canterbury, into the hands of John Anthony of Canterbury, as hereafter followeth:

First . . . one old cushion.

Two carpets, whereof one is cut into pieces.

An old mattress, seven coarse sheets, a coverlet and a pair of blankets, with two pillows, and a bolster.

Two plates, four dishes, two saucers, and a little basin weighing twelve lbs., at fourpence a lb., which my lady prioress hath and paid four shillings . . .

A little old diaper towel . . .

Two candlesticks.

A coat, which dame Katherine Wyttsam hath, paid five shillings.

A piece of a plank for a table.

A little chest.

Stuff which remaineth in the nunnery pertaining unto dame Elisabeth Barton, at the request of my lady prioress:

First, two new cushions, given unto the church.

An old mantle, and a kirtle, unto the youngest nun.

An Irish mantle, a collar, with two great chests, and two stoles and a candlestick, to my lady prioress.

A coverlet, and an old kirtle, to dame Alice Colman, at the request of my lady prioress.

(c) *The Lax Condition of Monastic Life.*

SOURCE: Bishop Nicke's *Visitation of Norwich Cathedral,* translated by G. G. Coulton in *Medieval Studies,* No. XI.

[The following is the judgment that Bishop Nicke pronounced upon the state of affairs as he found them in the Cathedral priory of Norwich in 1514, after his visitation and after hearing the detailed evidence of the monks.]

1. The charters of the dependent cells were not kept within the monastery precincts.

2. The monks do not study after they have taken their Orders of Priesthood.

3. The monks' friends have access to their chambers, and not to the room set aside for the purpose (viz. the parlour within the infirmary).

4. Dom William Harridaunce is the Prior's chaplain, sub cellerarer and keeper of the beercellar, and he unduly exerciseth the office of cellarer.

5. The Prior of St Leonard's [a dependent cell] permitteth all that appertaineth to his office to go to ruin, and maketh no repairs.

6. The chamberlains do not pay the monks their fees [*i.e.* their pocket-money] to the amount of 8s. [each].

7. The Prior of St Leonard's is hortolan or gardener, and performeth not this office.

8. The monks have no preceptor to instruct them in grammar, but have only two lessons a week from Master Wheteacre.

9. Dom John Sall, Precentor, doth not pay the Brethren their pensions.

10. The dormitory bell is broken.

11. Dom William Winkfeld swaggereth like a stage-player and revileth his Brethren.

12. The lost silver vessels are never recalled when the inventories are examined.

13. Women of bad character have access to the monastery.

15. Certain of the Brethren wear linen shirts and long close hosen, and especially Dom John Sall.

16. Religion and chastity are not kept, through the fault of the Subprior, who giveth an evil example.

17. The number of monks is not complete.

18. The third Prior punisheth faults not with fairness, but partially.

19. Dom Francis Norwich is disobedient, and a mover of quarrels among the Brethren.

20. Many of the younger Brethren are sent to the dependent cells before they are instructed in religion and letters.

21. Suspicious women have access to the house of the guest-master.

22. Dom Stephen Dersham keepeth not the schools [*i.e.* does not follow his studies at the University], nor doth he wear the habit according to the ancient custom; Dom Thomas Lemon likewise weareth not the customary dress.

23. Divine Services, both by night and day, are not duly observed, by the fault of the Subprior and third Prior.

24. The chantry of Bishop Walter is not duly served [*i.e.* the dead Bishop's soul was defrauded of the masses for which he had left endowment].

25. The monks wear frocks of worsted, contrary to rules.

26. The Prior of St Leonard wastes the goods of his priory.

28. The sick are compelled to celebrate mass, in spite of their infirmities.

29. The Penitentiaries [*i.e.* official confessors] of the cathedral church are not discreet enough for that office.

30. The cell of Aldby is in great ruin and is heavily burdened with debt.

31. The Prior of St Leonard gives no account of his office as Master of the Hospital of St Paul; for two barns have fallen down by his negligence while he held that mastership.

33. The officials have not rendered accounts of their income for two years past, and therefore the state of the finances is unknown.

34. The monks dance in the guesten-house.

35. In the cell of St Leonard there arise and are continued quarrels and dissensions, with words of opprobrium.

36. The church [of St Leonard's], dormitory, and chapter house are going to ruin ; the manors are going to ruin.

37. The cell of Aldby is in debt to the extent of £10, by the Prior's confession.

38. The monastery [of Norwich] is in debt for 200 marks.

(d) *The Preamble of the Act for the Suppression of Smaller Monasteries.*

SOURCE: Wright, *Letters relating to the suppression of the Monasteries.* Spelling modernised. Camden Society.

" Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living is daily used and committed amongst the little and small abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns, where the congregation of such religious persons is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the governors of such religious houses . . . spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste, as well their churches, monasteries, priories, principal houses, farms, granges, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as the ornaments of their churches, other goods and chattels, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the king's highness, and the realm, if redress should not be had thereof ; and albeit that many continual visitations hath been heretofore had by the space of two hundred years and more, for an honest, charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal and abominable living, yet nevertheless, little or no amendment is hitherto had, but their vicious living shamelessly increaseth and augmenteth, and by a cursed custom so rooted and infested that a great multitude

of religious persons in such small houses do rather choose to rove abroad in apostasy than to conform them to the observation of true religion; so that without such small houses be utterly suppressed, and the religious persons therein committed to great and honourable monasteries of religion in this realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously for the reformation of their lives, there can else be no reformation in this behalf. In consideration whereof the king's most royal majesty, being supreme head on earth under God of the church of England, etc. etc."

(e) *How the Monasteries were Destroyed.*

SOURCE: MS. Cole, xii. 1-49, quoted in Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, Third Series, Vol. III.

So soon as the visitors were entered within the gates, they called the abbot and other officers of the house, and caused them to deliver up to them all their keys, and took an inventory of all their goods both within doors and without; for all such beasts, horses, sheep, and such cattle as were abroad in pastures or grange places, the visitors caused to be brought into their presence, and when they had so done, turned the abbot with all his convent and household forth of the doors.

Which thing was not a little grief to the convent, and all the servants of the house departing one from another, and especially such as with their conscience could not break their profession; for it would have made an heart of flint to have melted and wept to have seen the breaking up of the house and their sorrowful departing, and the sudden spoil that fell the same day of their departure from the house. . . .

Such persons as afterward bought their corn and hay, or such like, and found all the doors either open, or the locks and shackles plucked away, or the door itself taken away, went in and took what they found, filched it away. Some

took the service books that lied in the church, and laid them upon their waine coppes to piece the same. Some took windows of the hay-leith and hid them in their hay. . . . The church was the first thing that was put to the spoil; and then the abbot's lodging, dortor and frater, with the cloister and all the buildings thereabout within the abbey walls. . . . It would have pitied any heart to see what tearing up of the lead there was and plucking up of boards and throwing down of the spars. . . . The persons that cast the lead into fodders, plucked up all the seats in the choir, wherein the monks sat when they said service—which were like to the seats in ministers—and burned them, and melted the lead therewithall, although there was wood plenty within a flight shot of them.

10. THE BIBLE AND REGISTER IN EVERY CHURCH [1538]

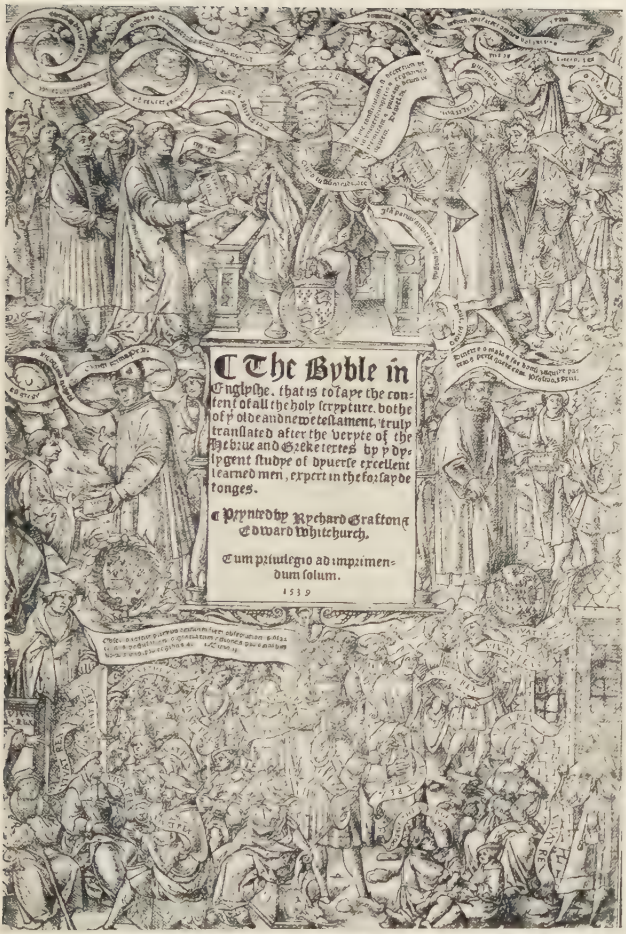
SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, Vol. III. London.

This month of September, Thomas Cromwell, lord privy seal, viceregent of the king's highness, set forth injunctions to all bishops and curates through the realm, charging them to see that in every parish church the Bible of the largest volume, printed in English, were placed for all men to read on: and that a book of Register were also provided and kept in every parish church, wherein shall be written every wedding, christening, and burying within the same parish for ever.

11. THE DIVERSITIES OF EXERCISE [1540]

SOURCE: Sir Thos. Elyot, *The Castle of Health.*

The quality of exercise is the diversity thereof, for as much as therein be many differences in moving, and also some exercise moveth more one part of the body, some another. In difference of moving, some is slow or soft, some is swift or fast, some is strong or violent, some be mixed with strength and swiftness. Strong or violent


The Byble in
Englyshe. that is to saye the
content of all the holy scripture. both
of ye olde and newe testament. truly
translated after the verye of the
Hebrue and Greke textes by ye dy-
ligent studye of diuerse excellent
learned men, expert in the forsayde
tonges.
Prynted by Rychard Grafton &
Edward Whitchurch.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.
1539

Title-page of the Great Bible, 1539

Diversities of Exercise

exercises be these: delving (specially in tough clay and heavy), bearing or sustaining of heavy burdens, climbing or walking against a steep upright hill, holding a rope and climbing up thereby, hanging by the hands on anything above a man's reach, that his feet touch not the ground, standing and holding up, or spreading the arms, with the hands fast closed, and abiding so a long time. Also to hold the arms steadfast, causing another man to assay to pull them out, and notwithstanding he keepeth his arm steadfast, enforcing thereunto the sinews and muscles. Wrestling also with the arms and legs, if the persons be equal in strength, it doth exercise the one and the other; if the one be stronger, then is it to the weaker a more violent exercise. All these kinds of exercises and other like them do augment strength, and therefore they serve only for young men which be inclined, or be apt to the wars. Swift exercise without violence is, running, playing with weapons, tennis or throwing of the ball, trotting a space of ground forward and backward, going on the toes and holding up the hands: also stirring up and down his arms without plummets. Vehement exercise is compounde of violent exercise and swift. When they are joined together at one time, as dancing of galiards, throwing of the balls and running after them, football play may be in the number thereof, throwing of the long dart and continuing it many times, running in harness and other like.

The moderate exercise is long walking or going a journey. The parts of the body have sundry exercises appropried unto them; as running and going is the most proper for the legs; moving of the arms up and down, or stretching them out and playing with weapons serveth most for the arms and shoulders; stooping and rising often times, or lifting great weights, taking up plummets or other like poises on the ends of staves, and in likewise lifting up in every hand a spear or morrispike by the ends, specially

crossing the hands, and to lay them down again in their places; these do exercise the back and loins. Of the bulk and lungs the proper exercise is moving of the breath in singing or crying. The entrails, which be underneath the midriff, be exercised by blowing, either by constraint or playing on shaulmes or sackbuts, or other like instruments which do require much wind. The muscles are best exercised with holding the breath in, a long time, so that he which doth exercise hath well digested his meat, and is not troubled with much wind in his body. Finally loud reading, counterfeit battle, tennis, or throwing the ball, running, walking, added to shooting, which in mine opinion, exceeds all the other, do exercise the body commodiously.

12. "THE ORNAMENTATION OF A SHIP" [1543]

SOURCE: *Book of War by Sea and by Land*, by Jehan Bythorne, Gunner in ordinary to the King. Published in the *Naval Miscellany*, Vol. I. Edited by Sir John Laughton, 1902.

On touching the ornamentation of your ship, on the outside, from the main wale in the water-line to the top of the castles, she ought to be painted in your colours and devices, as also the fore-castle and the after-castle, as splendidly as may be. And all the shields round the upper part of the castles—as well the fore-castle as the after-castle—ought to be emblazoned with your arms and devices. And above the fore-castle, on a staff inclining forwards, you ought to have a pennon of your colours and devices; as also at the two corners of the castle. Amidships there ought to be two square banners emblazoned with your arms. On the after-castle, high above the rudder, you ought to have a large square banner, larger than any of the others. And on each side of this castle, as you face towards the mast, there ought to be five or six square banners, not so large as that above the rudder, which I have just spoken of,

all emblazoned with your arms, quarters, and devices. All round the main top—*videlicet*, of the main mast—you ought to have top-armour of the full depth of the top, and emblazoned with your arms: and from it there must fly a broad swallowed-tailed standard, of such length as to reach to the water, and similarly emblazoned with your arms and devices. And on the mast of that top (main top mast) there ought to be a square banner emblazoned with your arms. And no one is permitted to carry such a banner on the main topmast except you: for it is by it that you are recognised by day. Likewise on the fore-mast there ought to be a top with top-armour all round, like to that of the main top. And above there ought to be a pennon, like to the great standard, but not nearly so long.

Some there are who hang a great number of small banners or pennons from the main-stay or from the fore-stay, as also from the main mizzen-stay; likewise from both sides of the vessel in the waist, according to their pleasure.

And for celebrating a triumph, your ship ought to be covered in and curtained with rich cloth; and the same on the two sides, as low down as the guns; and within board, below the deck, it should also be draped and canopied, so that the beams cannot be seen; and underfoot there should be a thick carpet, as in a room on shore; and the after-castle should be richly draped, as also the fore-castle, but not so richly. You may also paint your sails with such devices and colours as you choose; or with the representation of a saint, if you prefer it. And in my opinion, Sir, your ship will be thus prepared in the best possible manner, whether for the campaign or for actual battle.

13. TWO EXTRACTS FROM BISHOP LATIMER'S SERMONS [1549]

SOURCE: Latimer, *Sermons.* Ed. Corrie. Vol. I.

(1) *What of the Bow?*

Men of England in times past, when they would exercise themselves (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise) they were wont to go abroad in the fields a-shooting, but now is turned into glossing [cheating]. . . . The art of shooting hath been in times past much esteemed in this realm, it is a gift of God that He hath given us to excel all other nations withal, it hath been God's instrument whereby He hath given us many victories against our enemies. . . . In my time my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing, and so I think other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms as other nations do, but with strength of body. I had my bows bought me according to my age and strength; and as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger: for men shall never shoot well except they be brought up in it. It is a goodly art, a wholesome kind of exercise and much commended in Physic.

(2) *The Decline of Yeomanry.*

My father was a yeoman and had no lands of his own; only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for an hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness, when he went into Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I

had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness, and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this did he of the said farm, Where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.

Thus all the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth. So that where ye had a single too much, you have that: and since the same, ye have enhanced the rent and so have increased another too much: so now ye have double too much, which is too too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the commonwealth as touching commoners and inclosers; many meetings and sessions, but in the end of the matter, there cometh nothing forth. Well, well, this is one thing I will say unto you, from whence it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his intent in it. For if ye bring it to pass that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school (as indeed universities do wonderously decay already) and that they be not able to marry their daughters . . . I say, ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm. For by yeomen's sons, the faith of Christ is, and hath been maintained chiefly. Is this realm taught by rich men's sons? No, no; read the chronicles: ye shall find sometime noblemen's sons, which have been unpreaching bishops and prelates, but ye shall find none of them learned men. . . .

14. THE GOOD HOUSEWIFELY PHYSIC [1551]

SOURCE: Thomas Tusser's poem, *Five Hundred Good Points of Husbandry*. Spelling modernised.

Good housewives provide, ere a sickness do come,
Of sundry good things in her house to have some.
Good *aqua composita*, and vineger tart,
Rosewater, and treacle, to comfort the heart.
Cold herbs in her garden, for agues that burn,
That over-strong heat to good temper may turn.
White endive, and succory, with spinach enow;
All such, with good pot-herbs, should follow the plough.
Get water of fumitory, liver to cool,
And others the like, or else go like a fool.
Conserves of barberry, quinces and such,
With syrups, that easeth the sickly, so much.
Ask *Medicus* counsel, ere medicine ye make
And honour that man for necessity's sake.
Though thousands hate physic, because of the cost,
Yet thousands it helpeth, that else should be lost.
Good broth, and good keeping, do much now and then:
Good diet with wisdom, best comforteth man.
In health, to be stirring shall profit thee best;
In sickness hate troubles, seek quiet and rest.
Remember thy soul: let no fancy prevail;
Make ready to God-ward; let faith never quail
The sooner thyself thou submittest to God,
The sooner He ceaseth to scourge with His rod.

15. A FRENCHMAN'S VIEWS OF ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH [1558]

SOURCE: Translated from Perlin's *Description of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland*. Ed. 1775.

It may be said of the English, neither in war are they brave, nor in peace are they faithful; and, as the Spaniard says, England is a good land with bad people. . . .

The people of this nation mortally hate the French as their old enemies . . . and always call us *France chenesve* [knave], *France dogue*. . . .

The people are proud and seditious, with bad consciences, and are faithless to their word, as experience has taught. These villains hate all sorts of foreigners; and although they have a good land and a good country, they are all constantly wicked and moved by every wind; for now they will love a prince; turn your hand, they will wish him killed and crucified. . . .

In this kingdom of England there are two universities, viz. Cambruches and Auxonne, called in Latin Auxonia, Cambruche in Latin Cambrusium. The people of the country do not frequent them at all or very little, and do not give themselves up much to letters, but only to vanity and ambition and merchandise. . . . The people are reprobates, and all enemies to good manners and letters. . . .

In this country you will hardly meet with any great nobles whose relations have not had their heads cut off. Certes I should like better (with the reader's leave) to be a swineherd and preserve my head. For this affliction falls furiously upon the heads of the great nobles. For you will see these great lords in great pomp and magnificence for a time; turn your hand, you will see them in the hands of the executioner. . . . In France, justice is well administered, and not tyranny, as in England, which is the pest and ruin of a country; for a kingdom ought to be governed, not in shedding human blood in such abundance that the blood flows in streams. . . .

The people of this place make great cheer, and like much to banquet, and you will see many rich taverns and tavern-keepers, who have customarily large purses in which are three or four small purses full of money, consequently we may consider that this country is very full of money, and that the tradespeople gain more in a week than those of Germany

or Spain in a month. For you will see hatters and joiners, artisans generally playing their crowns at tennis, which is not ordinarily seen in any other place, and particularly on a working day. And in a tavern they make good cheer oftener than once a day with rabbits, and hares, and every sort of food. . . .

The English are merry with one another, and are very fond of music; for there is not ever so small a church in which music is not sung; and they are great drinkers. . . . Now remember (if you please) that in this country they generally use vessels of silver when they drink wine; and they will say to you usually at the table, *goud chere*. The servants wait on their masters bareheaded, and leave their bonnets on the dresser.

They use much whiter bread than in France, and it was in my time as cheap as in France; and with their beer they have a custom of using very soft cake, with raisins in it, and which make the beer taste doubly good; and I have had formerly at Rie, a seaport, as good as ever I drank in any country in the world. The people of this country are very good in the furniture of their houses, as good as any people in the world.

In this country all shops of all trades are open, like those of the barbers in France, and they have a great many openings of glass, as well in the workshops as in the higher rooms; for in the rooms you will see many windows of glass, and in almost all the houses of every town, although they belong to tradespeople; and all the houses here are like the working-places of the barbers of France, as well above as below; and you will see in their workshops and windows, as often in towns as in villages, a great many flowers, and in taverns a great deal of hay on the wooden benches, and many tapestried curtains on which the travellers sit down. The English make a great use of tapestries and of painted linens, which are well done and

on which are many magnificent roses embellished with fleur-de-lis and lions, for you can enter but few houses where you do not find these tapestries. . . .

The country is well covered and shady, for the lands are all enclosed with hedges, oaks, and several other sorts of trees, so that in travelling you think you are in a perpetual wood, but you will discover many flights of steps which are called in English *stiles*, and by which persons on foot go along little paths and enter the grounds; persons on horseback do not go thus but go on the high-road between trees and bushes. In the country there are no shepherds who generally keep the sheep, but they usually leave them in the woods morning and evening, and in the open fields. . . . The English are short of all sorts of fruits, as apricots and peaches. . . . The people are all armed; and the labourers when they till the ground, leave their swords and their bows in a corner of the field. . . .

And this is enough about England.

16. ELIZABETH—A VERY HUMAN QUEEN [1564]

SOURCE: Sir James Melvil's *Memoirs*. Ed. 1683. Spelling modernised.

[Sir James Melvil, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Mary, Queen of Scots, was sent on a mission to the English Court. Below is his description of an interview with Queen Elizabeth.]

She [Queen Elizabeth] appeared to be so affectionate to the Queen [Mary, Queen of Scots] her good sister, that she expressed a great desire to see her. And because their so much, by her, desired meeting could not be so hastily brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her majesty's picture. She took me to her bed-chamber, and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the

first that she took up was written *My Lord's Picture.* I held the candle and pressed to see that picture so named: she appeared loath to let me see it, yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof; and I found it to be the Earl of Leicester's picture. I desired that I might have it to carry home to my queen, which she refused, alleging that she had but that one picture of his. I said: "Your majesty hath here the original"; for I perceived him at the farthest part of the chamber, speaking with secretary Cecil. Then she took out the queen's picture and kissed it, and I adventured to kiss her hand, for the great love therein evidenced to my mistress. She showed me also a fair ruby, as great as a tennis-ball; I desired that she would send either it or my Lord of Leicester's picture, as a token to my queen. She said, if the queen would follow her counsel that she would in process of time get all she had; that in the meantime, she was resolved in a token to send her with me a fair diamond. It was at this time late after supper; she appointed me to be with her the next morning by eight of the clock, at which time she used to walk in her garden.

She inquired several things of me relating to this kingdom [Scotland], and other countries wherein I had travelled. She caused me to dine with her dame of honour, my Lady Stafford (an honourable and godly lady, who had been at Geneva banished during the reign of Queen Mary) that I might be always near her, that she might confer with me. . . . At divers meetings we had divers purposes. The queen, my mistress, had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise I should be wearied, she being well informed of that queen's natural temper, Therefore, in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy, the buskins of the women was not forgot; and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The queen said she had clothes of every sort, which every day there-

after, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian; and so forth. She asked me which of them became her best. I answered, in my judgment the Italian dress; which answer I found pleased her well, for she delighted to show her golden-coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was rather reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally.

She desired to know of me what colour of hair was reputed best; and whether my queen's hair or hers was best, and which of the two was fairest. I answered, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I judged fairest. I said she was the fairest queen in England, and mine the fairest queen in Scotland. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered, they were both the fairest ladies in their countries; that her majesty was whiter, but my queen was very lovely. She inquired which of them was of highest stature. I said: "My queen." "Then," saith she, "she is too high, for I myself am neither too high nor too low." Then she asked what exercise she used. I answered that when I received my dispatch the queen was lately come from the Highland hunting; that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories; that sometimes she recreated herself in playing upon the lute and virginals. She asked if she played well. I said reasonably, for a queen.

That same day after dinner, my Lord of Hunsdean drew me up to a quiet gallery that I might hear some music; but he said he durst not avow it, where I might hear the queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened awhile, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well; but she left off immediately, so soon as she turned about and saw me. She

appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand; alleging that she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked how I came there? I answered: "As I was walking with my Lord of Hunsdean, as we passed by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how"; excusing my fault of homeliness as being brought up in the court of France, where such freedom was allowed; declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me for so great an offence. Then she sat down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her, but with her own hand she gave me a cushion to lay under my knee; which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She then called for my Lady Strafford out of the next chamber, for the queen was alone. She inquired whether my queen or she played best. In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise. She said my French was good, and asked if I could speak Italian, which she spoke reasonably well. I told her majesty I had no time to learn the language perfectly, not having been above two months in Italy. Then she spoke to me in Dutch, which was not good, and would know what kind of books I most delighted in, whether theology, history, or love matters. I said I liked well of all sorts. Here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch: she said I was weary sooner of her company than she was of mine. I told her majesty that though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my mistress her affairs called me home: yet I was stayed two days longer, till I might see her dance, as I was afterward informed. Which being over, she inquired of me whether she or my queen danced best. I answered the queen danced not so high or disposedly as she did. Then again she wished that she might see the queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly

Queen Elizabeth dancing with the Earl of Leicester

A group of smokers

to Scotland by post, clothed like a page, that under this disguise she might see the queen; as James V. had gone in disguise with his own ambassador to see the Duke of Vendôme's sister, who should have been his wife. Telling her that her chamber might be kept in her absence, as though she were sick; that none needed to be privy thereto except Lady Strafford and one of the grooms of the chamber. She appeared to like that kind of language, only answered it with a sigh, saying: "Alas! if I might do it thus!"

17. "HUE AND CRIE" [1564]

SOURCE: Sir Thos. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum.* Ed. L. Alston.

By the olde law of Englande if any theft, or robberie be doone, if he that is robbed, or he that seeth or perceiveth that any man is robbed doe levie hue and crie, that is to say, doe call and crie for aide, and say that a theft or robberie is doone contrarie to the Princes peace and assurance: The Constable of the village to whom he doth come, and so make that crie, ought to raise the parish to aide him and seeke the theefe, and if the theefe be not founde in that parish, to go to the next and raise that Constable, and so still by the Constables and them of the parish one after an other. This hue and crie from parish to parish is caried, till the theefe or robber be founde. That parish which doeth not his dutie, but letted by their negligence the theefe to depart, doth not onely paie a fine to the king, but must repaie to the partie robbed his dammages. So that everie English man is a sergiant to take the theefe, and who sheweth himselfe negligent therein, doth not only incur evill opinion therefore, but hardly shall escape punishment: what is doone with the theefe or robber when he is taken, I shall shewe you hereafter. The same manner is followed if anie man bee slaine, for streight the murtherer is pursued

of everie man till he be taken. So soone as any is brought to the Justices of peace by this hue or crie, by the Constable or anie other who doth pursue the malefactor, he doeth examine the malefactor, and writeth the examination and his confession : then he doth binde the partie that is robbed or him that sueth, and the Constable, and so manie as can give evidence against the malefactor to be at the next sessions of gaole deliverie to give evidence for the Queene. He bindeth them in recognisance of xl', xxl', xxxl', xll', or Cl', according to his discretion, and the qualities of the crime : which certified under his hande, is levied upon the recognizance if they faile of being there.

18. THE FORME OF HOLDING THE PARLIAMENT [1564]

SOURCE : Sir Thos. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*. Ed. L. Alston.

The first day of the parliament the Prince and all the Lordes in their robes of parliament do meete in the higher house, where after prayers made, they that be present are written, and they that be absent upon sicknes or some other reasonable cause (which the prince will allowe) do constitute under their hande and seale some one of those who be present as their procurer or atturney to give voice for them, so that by presence or atturney and proxey they be all there, all the princes and barrons and all archbishops and bishops, and (when abbots were) so many abbots as had voice in parliament.

The place where the assembly is, is richly tapessed and hanged, a princely and royal throne as appertaineth to a king, set in the middest of the higher place thereof. Next under the prince sitteth the Chancellor, who is the voyce and orator of the prince. On the one side of that house or chamber sitteth the archbishops and bishops, ech in his ranke, on the other side the dukes and barons. In the

middest thereof uppon woolsackes sitteth the Judges of the realme, the master of the roules, and the secretaries of estate. But these that sit on the woolsacks have no voice in the house, but onely sit there to aunswere their knowledge in the law, when they be asked if any doubt arise among the lordes. The secretaries to aunswere of such letters or thinges passed in counsell whereof they have the custodie and knowledge: and this is called the upper house, whose consent and dissent is given by ech man severally and by himselfe, just for himself, and then severally for so many as he hath letters and proxies, when it commeth to the question, saying onely content or not content, without further reasoning or replying.

In this meane time, the knights of the shires and burgesses of the parliament (for so they are called that have voice in parliament, and are chosen as I have said before, to the number betwixt iijC and iiijC) are called by such as it pleaseth the prince to appoint, into an other great house or chamber by name, to which they aunswere and declaring for what shyre or towne they aunswere: then they are willed to choose an able and discreete man to be as it were the mouth of them all, and to speake for and in the name of them, and to present him so chosen by them to the prince: which done they comming al with him to a barre, which is at the nether ende of the upper house, there he first praiseth the prince, then maketh his excuse of unabilitie, and prayeth the prince that he would command the commons to choose another. The chancellor in the princes name doth so much declare him able, as he did declare himself unable, and thanketh the commons for choosing so wise, discreete and eloquent a man, and willeth them to go and consult of lawes for the common wealth. Then the speaker maketh certaine requests to the prince in the name of the commons, first that his majestie would be content that they may use and enjoy all their liberties and priviledges that the

common house was wont to enjoy. Secondly that they might franckely and freely saye their mindes in disputing of such matters as may come in question, and that without offence to his majestie. Thirdly that if any should chaunce of that lower house to offend or not to do or say as should become him, or if any should offend any of them being called to that his highnes court: That they themselves might (according to the ancient custome) have the punishment of them. And fourthly, that if there came any doubt, whereupon they shal desire to have thadvise or conference with his Majestie or with any of the Lordes, that they might doe it: All which he promiseth in the commons names that they shall not abuse, but have such regarde as most faithfull, true and loving subjectes ought to have to their prince. . . .

All bils be thrise in three diverse days read and disputed upon before they come to the question. In the disputing is a mervelous good order used in the lower house. He that standeth uppe bareheadded is understanded that he will speak to the bill. If moe stande uppe, who that first is judged to arise, is first harde, though the one doe prayse the law, the other diswade it, yet there is no altercation. For everie man speaketh as to the speaker, not as one to an other, for that is against the order of the house. It is also taken against the order, to name him whom ye doe confute, but by circumlocution, as he speaketh with the bill, or he that spake against the bill, and gave this and this reason. . . .

No reviling or nipping wordes must be used. For then all the house will crie, it is against the order: and if any speake unreverently or seditiouslie against the Prince or the privie counsell, I have seene them not onely interrupted, but it hath beene moved after to the house, and they have sent them to the tower. . . .

At the afternoone they keepe no parliament. The speaker

hath no voice in the house, nor they will not suffer him to speake in any bill to moove or diswade it. But when any bill is read, the speakers office is as brieflie and as plainely as he may to declare the effect thereof to the house. . . .

19. "I CANNOT EAT BUT LITTLE MEAT" [1565]

SOURCE: The play, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, attributed to Bishop Still.

I cannot eat but little meat;
My stomach is not good;
But sure I think that I can drink
With him that wears a hood.
Though I go bare, take ye no care,
I am nothing a-cold,
I stuff my skin so full within
Of jolly good ale and old.

Back and side go bare, go bare;
Both foot and hand go cold;
But, belly, God send thee good ale enough
Whether it be new or old.

I love no roast but a nut-brown toast
And a crab laid in the fire;
A little bread shall do me stead;
Much bread I no desire.
No frost, nor snow, no wind, I trow
Can hurt me if I would,
I am so wrapped, and throwly lapped,
Of jolly good ale and old.
Back and side, etc.

And Tib, my wife, that as her life
Loveth well good ale to seek,
Full oft drinks she, till ye may see
The tears run down her cheek:

Then doth she troul to me the bowl,
Even as a malt-worme should,
And saith, " Sweetheart I took my part
Of this jolly good ale and old ! "
Back and side, etc.

Now let them drink till they nod and wink
Even as good fellows should do ;
They shall not miss to have the bliss
Good ale doth bring men to.
And all poor souls that have scoured bowls,
Or have them lustily trouled,
God save the lives of them and their wives
Whether they be young or old.
Back and side, etc.

20. THE USE OF TOBACCO [1573]

SOURCE: Harrison's *Description of England.* Contained in Holinshed's *Chronicle,* Vol. I.

In these days, the taking in of the smoke of the Indian herb called " Tabaco," by an instrument formed like a little ladle, whereby it passeth from the mouth into the head and stomach, is greatly taken up and used in England, against Rheums and some other diseases engendered in the lungs and inward parts and not without effect. This herb as yet is not so common, but that for want thereof divers do practise for the like purposes with the Nicetian, otherwise called in latin " Hyosciamus Lutens," or the yellow benbone, albeit not without great error ; for although that herb be a sovereign healer of old ulcers and sores reputed incurable outwardly, yet is not the smoke or vapour thereof so profitable to be received inwardly.

21. ENGLAND IN THE DAYS OF ELIZABETH

SOURCE: As previous extract.

(1) *The Classes of Society.*

We, in England, divide our people commonly into four sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeomen, and artificers or labourers. Of gentlemen the first and chief (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts and barons; and these are called gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common usage of speech is) lords and noblemen: and next unto them be knights, esquires, and, last of all, they that are simply called gentlemen.

(2) *Commerce.*

Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great transportation of them into other countries, I speak not, sith the matter will easily betway itself. Certes among the Lacedaemonians it was found out that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the state of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wished that the huge heap of them were somewhat restrained, as also of our lawyers, so should the rest live more easily upon their own, and few honest chapmen be brought to decay by breaking of the bankrupt. I do not deny but that the navy of the land is in part maintained by their traffic, and so are the high prices of wares kept up, now they have gotten the only sale of things upon pretence of better furtherance of the commonwealth into their own hands: whereas in times past, when the strange bottoms were suffered to come in, we had sugar for fourpence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatise is well worth half a crown, raisins or currants for a penny that now are holden at sixpence, and sometimes at eightpence and tenpence the

pound; nutmegs at twopence halfpenny the ounce, ginger at a penny an ounce, prunes at halfpenny farthing, great raisins three pounds for a penny, cinnamon at fourpence the ounce, cloves at two pence, and pepper at twelve and sixteen pence the pound. Whereby we may see the sequel of things not always, but very seldom, to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carry out of the realm are for the most part broad clothes and carsies of all colours, likewise cottons, friezes, rugs, tin, wool, our best beer, baize, bustian, mockadoes (tufted and plain) rash, lead, fells, etc.: which being shipped at sundry ports of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or ready money, to the great gain and commodity of our merchants. And whereas in times past their chief trade was into Spain, Portugal, France, Flanders, Danske, Norway, Scotland and Iceland only, now in these days, as men not contented with these journeys, they had sought out the East and West Indies, and made now and then suspicious voyages, not only unto the Canaries and New Spain, but likewise into Cathay, Muscovy, and Tartaria, and the region thereabout, from whence (as they say) they bring home great commodities. But alas! I see not by all their travel that the prices of things are any whit abated.

(3) *The Yeomen of England.*

Yeomen are those which by our laws are called *Legales homines*, free men born English, and may dispend of their own free land in yearly revenue to the sum of forty shillings sterling or six pounds as money goeth in our times. . . . The word is derived from the Saxon term *Zeoman* or *Geoman*, which signifieth (as I have read) a settled or staid man, such I mean as, being married and of some years, betaketh himself to stay in the places of his abode for the better

maintenance of himself and his family, whereof the single sort have no regard, but are likely to be still fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of stability in determination and resolution of judgment, for the execution of things of any importance. This sort of people have a certain pre-eminence, and more estimation than labourers and the common sort of artificers, and these commonly live wealthily, keep good houses, and travel to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen, or at the leastwise artificers, and with grazing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of servants (not idle servants, as the gentlemen do, but such as get both their own and part of their master's living), do come to great wealth, insomuch that many of them are able and do buy the lands of unthrifty gentlemen, and often setting their sons to the schools, to the universities, and to the Inns of the Court, or, otherwise leaving them sufficient lands whereupon they may live without labour, do make them by those means to become gentlemen. These were they that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called "Master" as gentlemen are, or "Sir" as to knights appertaineth, but only "John" and "Thomas," etc., yet have they been found to have done very good service.

The kings of England in foughten battles were wont to remain among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their horsemen, the prince thereby shewing where his chief strength did consist.

(4) *Gardens and their Produce.*

At this present have we none [*i.e.* vines] at all (or else very little to speak of) growing in this island, which I impute not unto the soil but the negligence of my countrymen. Such herbs, fruits, and roots also as grow yearly out of the ground, of seed, have been very plentiful in this land, in

the time of the first Edward, and after his days; but in process of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henry the Fourth till the latter end of Henry the Seventh and beginning of Henry the Eighth, there was little or no use of them in England, but they remained either unknown or supposed to be as food more meet for hogs and savage beasts to feed upon than mankind. Whereas in my time their use is not only resumed among the poor commons, I mean of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets, parsnips, carrots, cabbages, navews, turnips and all kinds of salad herb—but also fed upon as dainty dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobility, who make their provision yearly for new seeds out of strange countries, from whence they have them abundantly. Neither do they now stay with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds but adventure further upon such as are very dangerous and hurtful, as the verangenes, mushrooms, etc., as if nature had ordained all for the belly, or that all things were to be eaten for whose mischievous operation the Lord in some measure hath given and provided a remedy.

Hops in time past were plentiful in this land. Afterwards also their maintenance did cease. And now being revived, where are any better to be found? . . .

Madder hath grown abundantly in this island, but of long time neglected, and now a little revived, and offereth itself to prove no small benefit unto our country. . . .

If you look into our gardens annexed to our houses, how wonderfully is their beauty increased, not only with flowers . . . and variety of curious and costly workmanship, but also with rare and medicinal herbs sought up in the land within these forty years, so that, in comparison of this present, the ancient gardens were but dunghills and laistowes to such as did possess them. . . . So curious and cunning are our gardeners now in these days that they

presume to do in manner what they list with nature, and moderate her course in things as if they were her superiors. It is a world also to see how many strange herbs, plants and annual fruits are daily brought unto us from the Indies, Americans, Taprobane, Canary Isles and all parts of the world. . . .

And even as it fareth with our gardens, so doth it with our orchards, which were never furnished with so good fruit nor with such variety as at this present. For, beside that we have most delicate apples, plums, pears, walnuts, filberts, etc. . . . so have we no less store of strange fruit, as apricots, almonds, peaches, figs, corn-trees, in noblemen's orchards. I have seen capers, oranges and lemons, and heard of wild olives growing here, besides other strange trees, brought from far, whose names I know not. So that England for these commodities was never better furnished, neither any nation under their clime more plentifully endued with these and other blessings from the most high God, who grant us grace withal to use the same to His honour and glory! . . . For my own part, good reader, let me boast a little of my garden, which is but small, and the whole area thereof little above 300 foot of ground, and yet such hath been my good luck in purchase of the variety of simples, that notwithstanding my small ability, there are very near three hundred of one sort and other contained therein, no one of them being common or usually to be had.

(5) *Churches and Services.*

As for our churches themselves, bells and times of morning and evening prayer remain as in times past, saving that all images, shrines, tabernacles, rood-lofts, and monuments of idolatory are removed, taken down, and defaced, only the stories in glass windows excepted, which, for want of

sufficient store of new stuff, and by reason of extreme charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realm, are not altogether abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decay, that white glass may be provided and set up in their rooms. Finally, whereas there was wont to be a great partition between the choir and the body of the church, now it is either very small or none at all, and (to say the truth) altogether needless, sith the minister saith his service commonly in the body of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot provided for the purpose, by which means the ignorant do not only learn divers of the psalms and usual prayers by heart, but also such as can read do pray together with him, so that the whole congregation at one instant pour out their petitions unto the living God for the whole estate of His church in most earnest and fervent manner. Our holy and festival days are very well reduced also unto a less number; for whereas (not long since) we had under the pope four score and fifteen called festival, and thirty *profesti*, beside the Sundays, they are all brought unto seven and twenty, and with them the superfluous numbers of idle wakes, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, help-ales, and soul-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathenish rioting at bride-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, evangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saints, were brought to the holy days that follow upon Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the Virgin Mary, with the rest, utterly removed from the calendars, as neither necessary nor commendable in a reformed church.

The apparel in like sort of our clergymen is comely, and, in truth, more decent than ever it was in the popish church, before the universities bound their graduates unto a stable attire, afterward usurped also even by the blind Sir Johns.

For . . . you shall find that they went either in divers colours like players, or in garments of light hue, as yellow, red, green, etc., with their shoes piked, their hair crisped, their girdles armed with silver, their shoes, spurs, bridles, etc., buckled with like metal, their apparel (for the most part) of silk, and richly furred, their caps laced and buttoned with gold, so that to meet a priest in these days was to behold a peacock that spreadeth his tail when he danceth before the hen : which now (I say) is well reformed.

(6) *Food, Meals and Meal-times.*

. . . There is no restraint of any meat either for religion's sake or public order in England, but it is lawful for every man to feed upon whatsoever he is able to purchase, except it be upon those days whereon eating of flesh is especially forbidden by the laws of the realm, which order is taken only to the end our numbers of cattle may be better increased and that abundance of fish which the sea yieldeth more generally received. Besides this, there is great consideration had in making this law for the preservation of the navy and maintenance of convenient numbers of seafaring men, both which would otherwise greatly decay if some means were not found whereby they might be increased. But howsoever this care standeth, white meats, milk, butter and cheese (which were never so dear as in my time, and wont to be accounted of as one of the chief stays throughout the island), are now reputed as food appertinent only to the inferior sort, whilst such as are more wealthy do feed upon the flesh of all kinds of cattle accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish upon our coasts and in our fresh rivers, and such diversity of wild and tame fowls as are either bred in our island or brought over unto us from other countries of the main.

In number of dishes and change of meat the nobility

of England (whose cooks are for the most part musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers) do most exceed, sith there is no day in manner that passeth over their heads wherein they have not only beef, mutton, veal, lamb, kid, pork, cony, capon, pig, or so many of these as the season yieldeth, but also some portion of the red or fallow deer, besides great variety of fish and wild fowl, and thereto sundry other delicates wherein the sweet hand of the sea-faring Portugal is not wanting. . . .

The chief part likewise of their daily provision is brought in before them (commonly in silver vessels, if they be of the degree of barons, bishops and upwards) and placed on their tables, whereof when they have taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserved, and afterward sent down to their serving men and waiters, who feed thereon in like sort with convenient moderation, their reversion also being bestowed upon the poor which lie ready at their gates in great number to receive the same. This is spoken of the principal tables whereat the nobleman, his lady and guests are accustomed to sit; besides which they have a certain ordinary allowance daily appointed for their halls, where the chief officers and household servants (for all are not permitted by custom to wait upon their master) and with them such inferior guests do feed as are not of calling to associate with the nobleman himself; so that, besides those aforementioned, which are called to the principal table, there are commonly forty or three score persons fed in those halls to the great relief of such poor suitors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof and otherwise like to dine hardly. As for drink, it is usually filled in pots, goblets, jugs, bowls of silver in noblemen's houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all forms; and for want of these elsewhere, in pots of earth of sundry colours and moulds, whereof many are garnished with silver, or at the leastwise in pewter. . . . It is a world to see in these our days, wherein gold

and silver most aboundeth, how that our gentility, as loathing those metals (because of the plenty), do now generally choose rather the Venice glasses, both for our wine and beer. . . . And as this is seen in the gentility, so in the wealthy commonalty the like desire of glass is not neglected. . . . The poorest also will have glass if they may; but sith the Venetian is somewhat too dear for them, they content themselves with such as are made at home of fern and burned stone. . . .

The gentlemen and merchants keep much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himself with four, five or six dishes, when they have but small resort, or peradventure with one, or two, or three at the most, when they have no strangers to accompany them at their tables. . . . At such times as the merchants do make their ordinary or voluntary feasts, it is a world to see what great provision is made of all manner of delicate meats, from every quarter of the country. . . . In such cases also jellies of all colours, mixed with a variety in the representation of sundry flowers, herbs, trees, forms of beasts, fish, fowls, and fruits, and thereunto marchpane wrought with no small curiosity, tarts of divers hues and sundry denomination, conserves of old fruits, foreign and home-bred, suckets . . . gingerbread, florentines, wild fowl, venison of all sorts, and sundry outlandish confections, altogether seasoned with sugar . . . do generally bear the sway. . . . And as all estates do exceed herein, I mean for strangeness and number of costly dishes, so these forget not to use the like excess in wine. . . . Neither do I mean this of small wines only, as Claret, White, Red, French, etc., which amount to about fifty-six sorts . . . but also of the thirty kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canari, etc., whereof Vervage, Cate pument, Raspis, Muscadell, Romnie, Bastard, Tire, Oseie, Caprike, Clareie, and Malmeseie are not least of all accompted of, because of their strength and valour. For as I have

said in meat, so, the stronger the wine is, the more it is desired, by means whereof, in old time, the best was called *theologicum*, because it was had from the clergy and religious men, unto whose houses many of the laity would often send for bottles filled with the same, being sure they would neither drink nor be served of the worst, or such as was any way mingled or brewed by the vintner. . . .

The beer that is used at noblemen's tables in their fixed and standing houses is commonly a year old, or peradventure of two years' tunning or more; but this is not general. . . .

Both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficiently liberal, and very friendly at their tables; and, when they meet, they are so merry without malice, and plain without inward Italian or French craft and subtlety, that it would do a man good to be in company among them. Herein only are the inferior sort somewhat to be blamed, that, being thus assembled, their talk is now and then such as savoureth of scurrility and ribaldry, a thing naturally incident to carters and clowns, who think themselves not to be merry and welcome if their foolish veins in this behalf be never so little restrained. This is, moreover, to be added in these meetings, that if they happen to stumble upon a piece of venison and a cup of wine or very strong beer or ale (which latter they commonly provide against their appointed days), they think their cheer so great, and themselves to have fared so well, as the Lord Mayor of London, with whom, when their bellies be full, they will not often stick to make comparison, because that of a subject there is no public officer of any city in Europe that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office. . . .

With us the nobility, gentry and students do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six at afternoon. The merchants dine

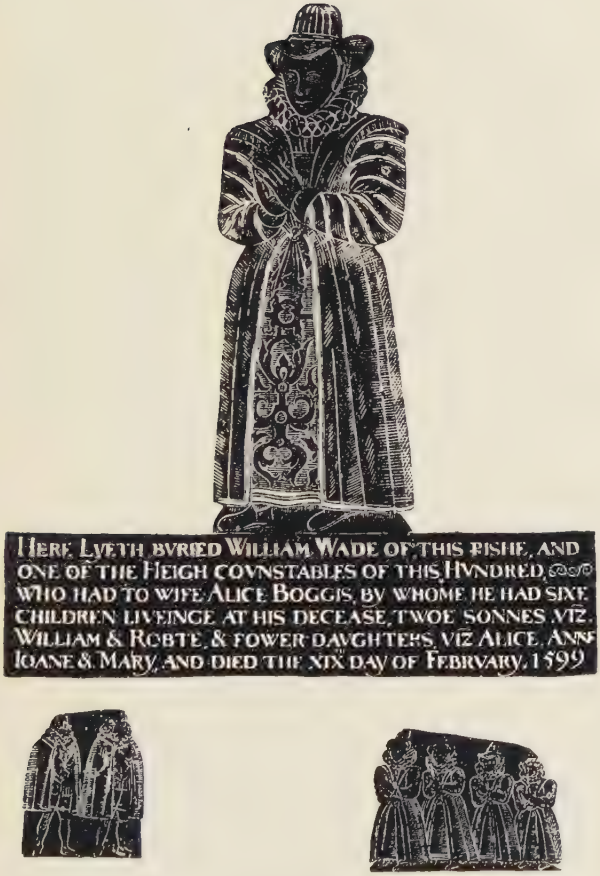
and sup seldom before twelve at noon, and six at night, especially in London.

The husbandmen dine also at high noon as they call it, and sup at seven or eight, but out of the term in our universities the scholars dine at ten. As for the poorest sort, they generally dine and sup when they may, so that to talk of their order of repast it were but a needless matter. I might here take occasion also to set down the variety used by antiquity in their beginnings of their diets, wherein almost every nation had a several fashion, some beginning of custom (as we do in summer time) with salads at supper, and some ending with lettuce, some making their entry with eggs, and shutting up their tables with mulberries, as we do with fruit and conceits of all sorts.

(7) *Clothing.*

I can tell better how to inveigh against this enormity than describe any certainty of our attire; sithence such is our mutability that to-day there is none to the Spanish guise, to-morrow the French toys are most fine and delectable, ere long no such apparel as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish manner is generally best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the Barbarian sleeves, the mandilion worn to Colley-Weston ward, and the short French breeches make such a comely vesture, that, except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see any so disguised as are my countrymen of England. And as these fashions are diverse, so likewise it is a world to see the costliness and the curiosity, the excess and the vanity, the pomp and the bravery, the change and the variety, and finally the fickleness and the folly, that is in all degrees, insomuch that nothing is more constant in England than inconstancy of attire. . . . How curious, how nice also, are a number of men and women, and how

hardly can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies! How many times must it be sent back again to him that made it! What chafing, what fretting, what reproachful language doth the poor workman bear away! And many times when he doth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home again it is very fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seams of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puff, then we blow, and finally sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well upon us. I will say nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like woman's locks, many times cut off above or under the ears round as by a wooden dish. Neither will I meddle with our variety of beards, of which some are shaven from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of Marquess Otto, some made round like a rubbing brush, others with a *pique de vant* (O fine fashion!), or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being grown to be so cunning in this behalf as the tailors. And therefore if a man have a lean and straight face, a Marquess Otto's cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter-like, a long slender beard will make it seem the narrower; if he be weasel-becked, then much hair left on the cheeks will make the owner look big like a bowdled hen and so grim as a goose, if Cornels of Chelmersford say true. Many old men do wear no beards at all. Some lusty courtiers also and gentlemen of courage do wear either rings of gold, stones, or pearl in their ears, whereby they imagine the workmanship of God not to be a little amended. . . . In women also . . . what should I say of their doublets with pendant codpieces on the breast full of jags and cuts, and sleeves of sundry colours? Their galligascons . . . to make their attire to fit plum round (as they term it) about them. Their fardingals, and diversely coloured nether stocks of silk, jerdsey, and such


HERE LYETH BVRIED WILLIAM WADE OF THIS PISHE, AND
ONE OF THE HEIGH COVNSTABLES OF THIS HVNDRED
WHO HAD TO WIFE ALICE BOGGIS BY WHOME HE HAD SIXE
CHILDREN LIVEINGE AT HIS DECEASE TWOE SONNES VIZ.
WILLIAM & ROBTE & FOWER DAVGHTERS VIZ ALICE ANNE
IOANE & MARY AND DIED THE XIX DAY OF FEBRVARY 1599

Brass of Alice Wade, 1599

Leicester Hospital, Warwick

Hatfield House

like. . . . I have met with some . . . in London so disguised that it hath passed my skill to discern whether they were men or women. . . .

Certes of all estates our merchants do least alter their attire, and therefore are most to be commended; for albeit that which they wear be very fine and costly, yet in form and colour it representeth a great piece of the ancient gravity appertaining to citizens and burgesses, albeit the younger sort of their wives, both in attire and costly housekeeping, cannot tell when and how to make an end. . . . I might here name a sort of hues devised for the nonce, wherewith to please fantastical heads, as . . . peas-porridge tawny, popingay blue, lusty gallant, the devil-in-the-head (I should say the hedge), and such like. . . .

(8) *Houses and Furniture.*

The greatest part of our building in the cities and good towns of England consisteth only of timber; for as yet few of the houses of the commonalty (except here and there in the West country towns) are made of stone, although they may (in my opinion) in divers other places be builded so good cheap of the one as of the other. . . . Our houses are commonly strong and well timbered (so that in many places there are not above four, six or nine inches between stud and stud), so in the open and champaign countries they are forced, for want of stuff, to use no studs at all, but only frankposts, raisins, beans, prickposts, groundsels, summers (or dormants), transoms, and such principals, with here and there a girding, whereunto they fasten their splints, or raddles, and then cast it all over with thick clay to keep out the wind, which otherwise would annoy them. . . .

As every country house is thus apparelled on the outside, so it is inwardly divided into sundry rooms above and

beneath: and where plenty of wood is, they cover them with tiles, otherwise with straw, sedge or reed, except some quarry of slate be near hand, from whence they have for their money so much as may suffice them. The clay wherewith our houses are impannelled is either white, red or blue. . . . Within their doors also, such as are of ability do oft make their floors and pargot of fine alabaster burned, which they call plaster of Paris. . . . In plastering . . we use to lay first a line or two of white mortar, tempered with hair upon laths, which are nailed one by another . . . and finally cover all with the aforesaid plaster. . . . The walls of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapestry, arras work, or painted cloths, wherein either divers histories, or herbs, beasts, knots and such like are stained, or else they are ceiled with oak of our own, or wainscot brought hither out of the East countries. . . . As for stoves, we have not hitherto used them greatly, yet do they now begin to be made in divers houses of the gentry and wealthy citizens, who build them not to work and feed in, as in Germany and elsewhere, but now and then to sweat in, as occasion and need shall require it. . . .

Horn in windows is now quite laid down in every place, so our lattices are also grown into less use, because glass is come to be so plentiful, and within a very little so good cheap, if not better than the other. . . . Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noblemen were often glazed with beryl . . . and in divers other places with fine crystal. . . . But now these are not in use, so that only the clearest glass is most esteemed. . . .

Moreover, the mansion houses of our country towns and villages . . . are builded in such sort generally as that they have neither dairy, stable, nor brewhouse annexed unto them under the same roof (as in many places beyond the sea and some of the north parts of our country), but all separate from the first and one of them from another.

And yet, for all this, they are not so far distant in sunder but that the goodman lying in his bed may lightly hear what is done in each of them with ease, and call quickly unto his many, if any danger should attack him.

The ancient manors and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters have been and are worthily preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as be lately builded are commonly either of brick or hard stone, or both, their rooms large and comely, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. . . .

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is grown in manner even to passing delicacy: and herein I do not speak of the nobility and gentry only, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south country that have anything at all to take to. Certes in noblemen's houses it is not rare to see abundance of arras, rich hangings of tapestry, silver vessel, and so much other plate as may furnish sundry cupboards to the sum oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least, whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuff doth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthy citizens, it is not geson to behold generally their great provision of tapestry, Turkey work, pewter, brass, fine linen, and thereto costly cupboards of plate, worth five or six hundred or a thousand pounds to be deemed by estimation. But, as herein all these sorts do far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatness and curiosity the merchant all other, so in time past the costly furniture stayed there, whereas now it is descended yet lower even unto the inferior artificers and many farmers, who, by virtue of their old and not of their new leases, have, for the most part, learned also to furnish their cupboards with plate, their joined beds with tapestry and silk hangings and their tables

with carpets and fine napery, whereby the wealth of our country (God be praised therefore, and give us grace to employ it well) doth infinitely appear. . . .

There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain which have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England within their sound rememberance, and other three things too too much increased.

One is the multitude of chimneys lately erected, whereas in their young days there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manor places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personages), but each one made his fire against a reredos in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

The second is the great (though not general) amendment of lodging; for said they, our fathers, yea and we ourselves also, have lain full oft upon straw pallets, or rough mats covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of dogswain, and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers—or the good man of the house—had within seven years after his marriage purchased a mattress or a flock bed and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town that peradventure lay seldom in a bed of down or whole feathers, so well were they contented and with such bare kind of furniture. Pillows (said they) were thought meet only for women. . . . As for servants, if they had any sheet above them it was well, for seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas of the pallet and rased their hardened hides.

The third thing they tell of is the exchange of vessel, as of treen platters into pewter and wooden spoons into silver or tin. . . .

They speak also of three things that are grown to be

very grievous unto them—to wit the enhancing of rents . . . the daily oppression of copyholders. . . . The third thing they talk of is usury, a trade brought in by the Jews, now perfectly practised almost by every Christian, and so commonly that he is accompted but for a fool that doth lend his money for nothing.

(9) *The Soil and Commodities of the Island.*

The soil of Britain is such as by the testimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience also of such as now inhabit the same, is very fruitful, and such indeed as bringeth forth many commodities, whereof other countries have need. . . . Nevertheless it is more inclined to feeding and grazing than profitable for tillage and bearing of corn, by reason whereof the country is wonderfully replenished with meat and all kind of cattle; and such store is there also of the same in every place that the fourth part of the land is scarcely manured for the provision and maintenance of grain. . . .

There are also in this island great plenty of fresh rivers and streams, as you have heard already, and these thoroughly fraught with all kinds of delicate fish accustomed to be found in rivers. . . .

The pasture of this island is according to the nature and bounty of the soil, whereby in most places it is plentiful, very fine, batable, and such as either fatteth our cattle with speed or yieldeth great abundance of milk and cream whereof the yellowest butter and finest cheese are made. . . .

The yield of our corn-ground is also much after this rate following. Throughout the land (if you please to make an estimate thereof by the acre) in mean and indifferent years, wherein each acre of rye or wheat, well tilled and dressed will yield commonly sixteen or twenty bushels, an acre of barley six and thirty bushels, of oats and such like

four or five quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes surmounted in the south. Of mixed corn, as peas and beans sown together, tares and oats (which they call bulmong), rye and wheat (named miscelin) . . . their yield is nevertheless much after this proportion. . . .

Of late years also we have found and taken up a great trade in planting of hops, whereof our moory hitherto and unprofitable grounds do yield such plenty and increase that there are few farmers or occupiers in the country which have not gardens and hops growing of their own, and these far better than do come from Flanders unto us. . . .

The cattle which we breed are commonly such as for greatness of bone, sweetness of flesh, and other benefits to be reaped by the same, give place unto none other; as may appear first by our oxen, whose largeness, height, weight, tallow, hides and horns are such as none of any other nation do commonly or may easily exceed them. Our sheep likewise, for good taste of flesh, quantity of limbs, fineness of fleece, give no place unto any, more than do our goats . . . and our deer not come behind. As for our conies, I have seen them so fat in some soils . . . that the grease of one being weighed hath very near six or seven ounces. . . .

I touch in this place one benefit which our nation wanteth, and that is wine, the fault whereof is not in our soil, but the negligence of our countrymen. . . . I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England.

Now our soil either will not, or at the leastwise may not, bear either woad or madder. . . . The like I may say of flax, which by law ought to be sown in every country town in England, more or less. . . .

Glass also hath been made here in great plenty before, and in the time of the Romans, and the said stuff also,

beside fine scissors, shears, collars of gold and silver for women's neck's, cruises and cups of amber, were a parcel of the tribute which Augustus in his days laid upon this island. . . .

We have in England great plenty of quicksilver, antimony, sulphur, blacklead, and orpiment red and yellow. We have also the finest alum . . . the natural cinnabarium or vermilion, the sulphurous glebe called bitumen in old time for mortar, and yet burned in lamps where oil is scant . . . the chrysocolla, copperas, and mineral stone, whereof petriolum is made, and that which is most strange, the mineral pearl. . . .

Of coal mines we have such plenty in the north and western parts of our island as may suffice for all the realm of England, and so must they do hereafter indeed, if wood be not better cherished than it is at this present. . . . Besides our coal mines, we have pits in like sort of white plaster and of fat and white and other coloured marl. . . . We have saltpetre for our ordinance and salt soda for our glass. . . .

Tin and lead . . . are very plentiful with us, the one in Cornwall, Devonshire and elsewhere in the north, the other in Derbyshire, Weredale and sundry places of this island.

Copper is lately not found, but rather restored again to light. . . .

As for our steel, it is not so good for edge-tools as that of Cologne, and yet the one is often sold for the other.

(10) *Wild and Tame Fowls.*

Order requireth that I speak somewhat of the fowls also of England, which I may easily divide into the wild and tame; but alas! such is my small skill in fowls that, to say the truth, I can neither recite their

numbers nor well distinguish one kind of them from another. . . . Of such therefore as are bred in our land, we have the crane, the bittern, the wild and tame swan, the bustard, the heron, curlew, snipe, wild goose, wind or doterell, brant lark, plover (of both sorts), lapwing, teal, widgeon, mallard, sheldrake, shoveller, peewit, seamew, barnacle, quail (who, only with man, are subject to the falling sickness), the knot, the oliet or olive, the dunbird, woodcock, partridge and pheasant, besides divers other . . .

Our tame fowl are such (for the most part) as are common both to us and to other countries, as cocks, hens, geese, ducks, peacocks of Ind, now a hurtful fowl by reason of their multitudes. . . .

It is strange to me to see or hear of geese to be led to the field like sheep; yet so it is, and their goose-herd carrieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him when he goeth about in the morning to gather his goslings together, the noise whereof cometh no sooner to their ears than they fall to goggling, and hasten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the house be stirring, it is ridiculous to see how they will peep under the doors, and never leave creaking and goggling till they be let out unto him to overtake their fellows. . . .

I would likewise intreat of other fowls which we repute unclean, as ravens, crows, pies, choughs, rooks, kites, jays, ringtails, starlings, woodspikes, woodnaws, etc. . . . It may be that some look for a discourse also of our other fowls in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thrushes, blackbirds, mavises, ruddocks, redstarts or dunocks, larks, tivits, king fishers, buntings, turtles (white or grey), linnets, bullfinches, goldfinches, washtails, cherryeraekers, yellow-hammers, fieldfares, etc.; but I should then spend more time upon them than is convenient. Neither will I speak of our costly and curious aviaries daily made for the better hearing of their melody, and observation of their natures. . . .

(11) *Savage Beasts and Vermin.*

It is none of the least blessing wherewith God hath endued this island that it is void of noisome beasts, as lions, bears, tigars, pardes, wolves, and such like, by means whereof our countrymen may travel in safety, and our herds and flocks remain for the most part abroad in the field without any herdman or keeper. . . .

Of foxes we have some, but no great store, and also badgers. . . . I might here intreat largely of other vermin, as the polecat, the miniver, the weasel, stoat, fulmart, squirrel, fitchew, and such like. . . .

Other pernicious beasts we have not, except you repute the great plenty of red and fallow deer whose colours are oft garled white and black, all white or all black, and store of conies amongst the hurtful sort. . . .

We have the adder (in our old Saxon tongue called an atter), which some men do not rashly take to be the viper. . . . I did see an adder once myself that lay (as I thought) sleeping on a molehill, out of whose mouth came eleven young adders of twelve or thirteen inches in length apiece, which played to and fro in the grass one with another, till some of them espied me. So soon therefore as they saw my face they ran again into the mouth of their dam, whom I killed. . . .

As we have great store of toads where adders commonly are found, so do frogs abound where snakes do keep their residence. We have also the slow worm, which is black and greyish of colour, and somewhat shorter than an adder. . . .

We have also efts, both of the land and water, and likewise the noisome swifts. . . . As for flies we have none that can do hurt or hindrance naturally unto any: for whether they be cut-waisted or whole-bodied, they are void of poison and all venomous inclination. The cut- or girt-waisted (for so I English the word insecta) are the

hornets, wasps, bees, and such like, whereof we have great store. . . .

Our honey also is taken and reputed to be the best, because it is harder, better wrought, and cleanlier vesselled up than that which cometh from beyond the sea. . . . Our hives are made commonly of rye straw and wattled about with bramble quarters; but some make the same of wicker, and cast them over with clay. . . .

As for the whole-bodied . . . have we beetles, horse-flies, . . . the locust or the grasshopper . . . and such like, whereof let other intreat that make an exercise in catching of flies, but a far greater sport in offering them to spiders, as did Domitian sometime, and another prince yet living, who delighted so much to see the jolly combats betwixt a stout fly and an old spider, that divers men have had great rewards given them for their painful provision of flies made only for this purpose.

(12) *The Court.*

The court of England, which necessarily is holden always where the prince lieth, is in these days one of the most renowned and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For, whether you regard the rich and infinite furniture of household, order of officers, or the entertainment of such strangers as daily resort unto the same, you shall not find many equal thereunto, much less one excelling it in any manner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter concerned of the same) make a large discourse of such honourable posts, of such grave councellors, and noble personages, as give their daily attendance upon the queen's majesty there.

I could in like sort set forth a singular commendation of the virtuous beauty or beautiful virtues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait upon her person, between whose amiable

countenances and costliness of attire there seemeth to be such a daily conflict and contention as that it is very difficult for me to guess whether of the twain shall bear away the preëminence. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are very few of them which have not the use and skill of sundry speeches, besides an excellent vein of writing beforetime not regarded. Would to God the rest of their lives and conversation were correspondent to these gifts! For as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best learned and endued with excellent gifts, so are many of them the worst men when they come abroad that any man shall either hear or read of. Truly it is a rare thing with us now, to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language. And to say how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that besides sound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues are thereto no less skilful in the Spanish, Italian and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me, sith I am persuaded that, as the noblemen and gentlemen do surmount in this behalf so these come very little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industry God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting.

Besides these things I could in like sort set down the ways and means whereby our ancient ladies of the court do shun and avoid idleness, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, others in caulwork, divers in spinning of silk, some in continual reading either of the Holy Scriptures, or histories of our own or foreign nations about us and divers in writing volumes of their own, or translating other men's into English. . . . How many of the eldest sort also are skilful in surgery and distillation of waters, besides sundry other artificial practices pertaining to the ornature and commendation of their bodies, I might (if I listed to deal further in this behalf) easily declare; but

I pass over such manner of dealing, lest I should seem to curry favour with some of them. Nevertheless this I will generally say of them all, that as each of them are cunning in something whereby they keep themselves occupied in the court so there is in manner none of them but when they be at home can help to supply the ordinary want of the kitchen with a number of delicate dishes of their own devising. . . .

To avoid idleness and prevent sundry transgression otherwise likely to be committed and done, such order is taken that every office hath either a Bible, or the books of the Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, or both, besides some histories and chronicles lying therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same; whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England upon the sudden shall rather imagine himself to come into some public school of the universities, where many give ear to one that readeth, than unto a prince's palace, if you compare the same with those of other nations. Would to God all honourable personages would take example of her grace's godly dealing in this behalf, and shew their conformity unto these her so good beginnings! . . .

I might speak here of the great trains and troops of serving men also which attend upon the nobility of England in their several liveries and with differences of cognisances on their sleeves, whereby it is known to whom they appertain. I could also set down what a goodly sight it is to see them muster in the court, which, being filled with them, doth yield the contemplation of a noble variety unto the beholder, much like to the shew of the peacock's tail in the full beauty, or of some meadow garnished with infinite kinds and diversities of pleasant flowers.

(13) *Armour and Munition.*

In times past the chief force of England consisted in

their long bows. But now we have in manner generally given over that kind of artillery, and for longbows indeed do practice to short compass for our pastime: which kind of shooting can never yield any smart stroke, nor beat down our enemies, as our countrymen were wont to do at every time of need. Certes, the Frenchmen and Rutters, deriding our new archery in respect of their corselets, will not let, in open skirmish, if any leisure serve, to turn up their tails and cry "Shoot English!" and all because our strong shooting is decayed and laid in bed. . . . But as our shooting is thus in manner utterly decayed among us one way, so our countrymen wax skilful in sundry other points, as in shooting in small pieces, the caliver, the handling of the pike, in the several uses whereof they are become very expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore consisteth of corselets, almaine rivets, shirts of mail, jacks quilted and covered over with leather, fustian, or canvas, over thick plates of iron that are sewed in the same, and of which there is no town or village that hath not her convenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one several place of every town, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is always ready to be had and worn within an hour's warning. Sometimes also it is occupied when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, and take note of the well keeping of the same, or finally to see those that are enrolled to exercise each one his several weapon, at the charge of the townsmen of each parish, according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village, so poor in England (be it never so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readiness to set forth three or four soldiers, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, and a billman at the least. No, there is not so much wanting as their very liveries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if

any haste [is] required: so that, if this good order may continue, it shall be impossible for the sudden enemy to find us unprovided. As for able men for service, thanked be God! we are not without good store; for by the musters taken in 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1,172,674, and yet were they not so narrowly taken but that a third part of this like multitude was left unbilled and uncalled. What store of munition and armour the queen's majesty had in her storehouses it lieth not in me to yield account, sith I suppose the same to be infinite. And whereas it was commonly said after the loss of Calais that England should never recover the store of ordinance there left and lost, that same is at this time proved false, sith even some of the same persons do now confess that this land was never better furnished with these things in any king's days that reigned since the Conquest.

The names of our greatest ordinance are commonly these: *Robinet*, whose weight is two hundred pounds; and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth; *Falconet*, weigheth five hundred pounds, and his wideness is two inches within the mouth; *Falcon*, hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a half within the mouth; *Minion* poiseth eleven hundred pounds, and hath three inches and a quarter within the mouth; [*Sacre*, *Demi-Culverin*, *Culverin*, *Demi-Cannon* are then described], *Cannon*, seven thousand pounds, and seven inches within the mouth; *E. Cannon*, eight thousand pounds, and seven inches within the mouth; *Basilisk*, nine thousand pounds, eight inches and three quarters within the mouth. . . .

I might here take just occasion to speak of the prince's armories, but what shall it need? sith the whole realm is her armory, and therefore her furniture infinite. . . .

Seldom shall you see any of my countrymen above eighteen or twenty years old to go without a dagger at the least at his back or by his side, although they be aged

burgesses or magistrates of any city who in appearance are most exempt from brabling and contention. Our nobility wear commonly swords or rapiers with their daggers, as doth every common serving man also that followeth his lord and master. . . .

Finally no man travelleth by the way without his sword, or some such weapon, with us, except the minister, who commonly weareth none at all, unless it be a dagger or hanger at his side. . . .

(14) *England's Navy.*

If you regard the form and the assurance from peril, of the sea and therewithal the strength and nimbleness of such [vessels] as are made in our time, you shall easily find that ours are of more value than theirs. For as the greatest vessel is not always the safest, so that of most huge capacity is not always the aptest to shift, and brook the seas: as might be seen by the *Great Henry*, the hugest vessel that ever England framed in our times. Neither were the ships of old like unto ours in mould and manner of building above the water (for of low galleys in our seas we make small account) nor so full of ease within, since time hath engendered more skill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. . . .

The navy of England may be divided into three sorts, of which the one serveth for the wars, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen which get their living by fishing on the sea. How many of the first order are maintained within the realm it passeth my cunning to express. . . . Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful or gallant sort of ships than the queen's majesty of England at this present, and those generally are of such exceeding force that two of them, being well appointed

and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of those of other countries, and either bowge them to put them to flight, if they may not bring them home. . . .

The common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselves is daily confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimbleness, and swiftness of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. . . .

The queen's highness hath at this present which is the four-and-twentieth year of her reign, already made and furnished to the number of four-and-twenty great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham Road, besides three galleys, of whose particular names and furniture (so far forth as I can come by them) it shall not be amiss to make report at this time.

The names of so many ships belonging to her majesty as I could come by at this present:

The Bonadventure.
Elizabeth Jonas.
White Bear.
Philip and Mary.
Triumph.
Bull.
Tiger.
Antelope.
Hope.
Lion.
Victory.
Mary Rose.
Foresight.
Swift Suit.
Aid.
Handmaid.
Dreadnought.
Swallow.
Genet.
Bark of Bullen.
Achates.
Falcon.
George.
Revenge.

Besides these, her grace hath other in hand also. . . . She hath likewise three notable galleys: the *Speedwell* the *Try Right*, and the *Black Galley*, with the sight

whereof and the rest of the navy royal, it is incredible to say how greatly her grace is delighted: and not without great cause (I say) since by their means her coasts are kept in quiet and sundry foreign enemies put back, which otherwise would invade us. . . .

If the report of one record be anything at all to be credited, there are 135 ships that exceed 500 ton; topmen under 100 and above forty, 656; hoys, 100; but of hulks, catches, fisherboats and crayres, it lieth not in me to deliver the just account, since they are hardly to come by. . . .

I might take occasion to tell of the notable and difficult voyages made into strange countries by Englishmen, and of their daily success there; but as these things are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speak of them. . . .

For the journeys also of our ships, you shall understand that a well-builded vessel will run or sail commonly three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a week, or peradventure some will go 2,200 leagues in six weeks and a half. . . . There be of them that will be here, at the West Indies, and home again in twelve or thirteen weeks from Colchester, although the said Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornwall, as I have been informed.

(15) *Kinds of Punishment.*

In cases of felony, manslaughter, robbery, murder, rape, piracy, and such capital crimes as are not reputed for treason or hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced upon the offender is, to hang till he be dead. . . .

The greatest and most grievous punishment used in England for such as offend against the State is drawing from the prison to the place of execution upon a hurdle

or sled, where they are hanged till they be half dead and then taken down and quartered alive. . . .

And whensoever any of the nobility are convicted of high treason by their peers, that is to say, equals, this manner of their death is converted into the loss of their heads only, notwithstanding that their sentence do run after the former order. . . .

If a woman poison her husband, she is burned alive; if a servant kill his master, he is to be executed for petty treason; he that poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead. . . . Perjury is punished by the pillory, burning in the forehead with the letter P. . . . Rogues are burned through the ears; carriers of sheep out of the land by the loss of their hands. . . .

Witches are hanged or sometimes burned; but thieves are hanged . . . generally on the gibbet or gallows, saving in Halifax, where they are beheaded in a strange manner.

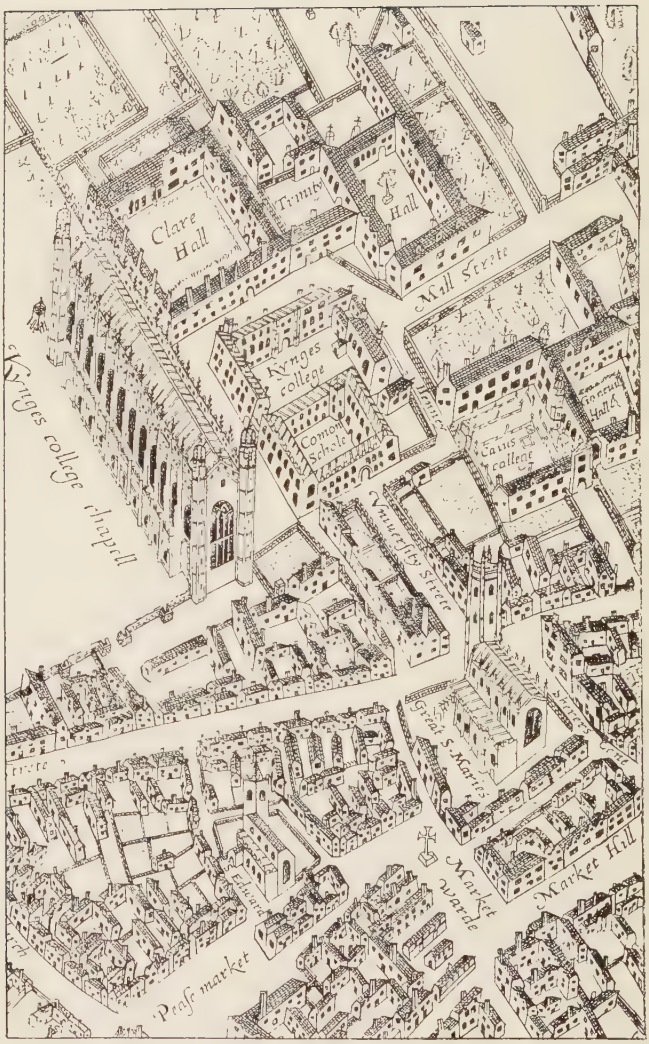
Rogues and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped; scolds are ducked upon cucking-stools in the water. . . .

(16) *Universities and Schools.*

Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantly, being environed in manner round about with woods on the hills aloft, and goodly rivers in the bottoms and valleys beneath, whose courses would breed no small commodity to that city and country about, if such impediments were removed as greatly annoy the same and hinder the carriage which might be made thither also from London. That of Cambridge is distant from London about forty and six miles north and by east, and standeth very well, saving that it is somewhat near unto the fens; whereby the wholesomeness of the air is not a little corrupted. It is excellently well served with all kinds of provision, but especially

here lyeth John Wingfild of Elton esquyer one
of the sonnes of Thomas Wingfild late of
greate Dunham in the county of Norff esquyer
which sayd John Wingfild dyed and was
buryed in the month of January and in the
yeare of our Lord God .1584.

Brass of John Wingfield, 1584



Cambridge in 1592

of fresh water fish and wild fowl, by reason of the river that passeth thereby; and thereto the Isle of Ely, which is so near at hand. Only wood is the chief want to such as study there, wherefore this kind of provision is brought them either from Essex and other places thereabouts, as is also their coal, or otherwise the necessity thereof is supplied with gall . . . and seacoal whereof they have great plenty led thither by the Grant. . . .

The colleges of Oxford for curious workmanship and private commodities are much more stately, magnificent, and commodious than those of Cambridge: and thereunto the streets of the town for the most part are more large and comely. But for uniformity of building, orderly compaction and politic regiment the town of Cambridge, as the newer workmanship exceeds that of Oxford (which otherwise is, and hath been, the greater of the two) by many a fold (as I guess), although I know divers that are of the contrary opinion. . . .

In all other things there is so great equality between these two universities as no man can imagine how to set down any greater. . . .

In some one college you shall have two hundred scholars, in others one hundred and fifty, in divers a hundred and forty, and in the rest less numbers, as the capacity of the said houses is able to receive: so that at this present, of one sort and other, there are about three thousand students nourished in them both. . . .

They were erected by their founders at the first only for poor men's sons, whose parents were not able to bring them up unto learning; but now they have the least benefit of them by reason the rich do so encroach upon them. And so far has this inconvenience spread itself that it is in my time a hard matter for a poor man's child to come by a fellowship (though he be never so good a scholar and worthy of that room). . . .

In some grammar schools likewise which send scholars to these universities it is lamentable to see what bribery is used; for ere the scholar can be preferred, such bribage is made, that poor men's children are commonly shut out, and the richer sort received (who in time past thought it dishonour to live as it were upon alms), and yet being placed, most of them study little other than histories, tables, dice, and trifles. . . .

Everyone of these colleges have in like manner their professors or readers of the tongues and several sciences. . . . Moreover, in the public schools of both the universities, there are found at the prince's charge (and that very largely) five professors and readers, that is to say, of divinity, of the civil law, physic, the Hebrew and the Greek tongues. And for the other lectures, as of philosophy, logic, rhetoric, and the quadrivials (although the latter, I mean arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, and with them all skill in the perspectives, are now smally regarded in either of them), the universities themselves do allow competent stipends to such as read the same, whereby they are sufficiently provided for, touching the maintenance of their estates and no less encouraged to be diligent in their functions. . . .

Thus we see that from our entrance into the university unto the last degree received is commonly eighteen or peradventure twenty years, in which time, if a student has not obtained sufficient learning thereby to serve his own turn and benefit his commonwealth, let him never look by tarrying longer to come by any more. . . .

To these two also we may in like sort add the third, which is at London (serving only for such as study the laws of the realm) where there are sundry famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Inns of the Court, the rest of the Chancery, and all built before time for the furtherance and commodity of such as apply their minds to our common laws. . . .

Besides these universities also there are great number of grammar schools throughout the realm, and those very liberally endowed, for the better relief of poor scholars, so that there are not many corporate towns now under the queen's domain that have not one grammar school at the least, with a sufficient living for a master and usher appointed to the same.

There are in like manner divers collegiate churches, as Windsor, Winchester, Eton, Westminster (in which I was some time an unprofitable grammarian under the reverend father Master Nowell, now dean of Paul's), and in those a great number of poor scholars, daily maintained by the liberality of the founders, with meat, books, and apparel, from whence, after they have been well entered in the knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues and rules of versifying, they are sent to certain special houses in each university where they are received and trained up in the points of higher knowledge in their private halls. . . .

22. A BRIDAL PROCESSION [1570]

SOURCE: *History of Jack of Newbury*, as quoted in the Notes of Dr Furnivall in his edition of *Robert Laneham's Letter*. Ballad Society, 1890.

The bride being attired in a gown of sheep's russet, and a kirtle of fine worsted, attired with a'billement of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold, hanging down behind her, which was curiously combed and plaited, she was led to church between two sweet boys, with bride laces and rosemary tied about their silken sleeves. There was a fair bride-cup of silver gilt carried before her, wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded very fair, hung about with silken ribands of all colours. Musicians came next, then a group of maidens, some bearing great bride-cakes, others garlands of wheat finely gilded; and thus they passed unto the church.

23. A DAY IN THE LIFE OF ROBERT LANEHAM [1575]

SOURCE: *Robert Laneham's Letter*, as edited by Dr Furnivall. Ballad Society, 1890. Spelling modernised.

A-mornings I rise ordinarily at seven o'clock. Then ready, I go into the Chapel: soon after eight, I get me commonly into my Lord's Chamber, or into my Lord President's. There, at the cupboard, after I have eaten the manchet,[1] served over-night for livery, (for I dare be as bold, I promise you, as any of my friends the servants there: and indeed, could I have fresh if I would tarry: but I am of wont jolly and dry a-mornings) I drink me up a good bowl of Ale: when in a sweet pot it is defecated [freed from dregs] by all night's standing, the drink is the better; take that of me: and a morsel in a morning, with a sound draught, is very wholesome and good for the eyesight. Then I am as fresh all the forenoon after as had I eaten a whole piece of beef. Now, sir, if the Council sit, I am at hand, wait at an inch, I warrant you. If any make babbling, "Peace!" (say I) "Wot ye where ye are?" If I catch a listener, or a prier in at the chinks or at the lock hole, I am by and bye in the bones of him [giving him a dig in the ribs]; but now they keep good order; they know me well enough: if he be a friend or such one as I like, I make him sit down by me on a form or a chest: let the rest walk, a God's name! And here doth my languages now and then stand me in good stead, my French, my Spanish, my Dutch, and my Latin, sometime among Ambassadors' men, if their Master be within the Council, sometimes with the Ambassador himself, if he bid me call his lackey, or ask me what's o'clock: and I warrant ye I answer him roundly, that they marvel to see such a fellow there: then laugh I, and say nothing. Dinner and supper I have twenty places to go to and heartily

[1] A loaf of bread served out overnight as livery or allowance.

prayed to. And sometimes get I to Master Pinner, by my faith a worshipful Gentleman, and as careful for his charge as any her Highness hath: there find I always good store of very good viands: we eat and be merry, thank God and the Queen! Himself in feeding very temperate and moderate as ye shall see any: and yet by your leave, of a dish—as a cold pigeon or so, that hath come to him at meat, more than he looked for,—I have seen him even so by and bye surfeited, as he hath plucked off his napkin, wiped his knife, and eat not a morsel more: like enough to stick in his stomach a two days after. . . . In afternoons and a nights, sometimes am I with the right worshipful Sir George Howard, as good a gentleman as any likes: and sometimes at my good Lady Sidney's chamber, a Noblewoman that I am as much bound unto, as any poor man may be unto so gracious a Lady. And sometime in some other place; but always among the Gentlewomen by my good will (O, ye know that comes always of a gentle spirit); and when I see company according, then can I be as lively too. Sometimes I foot it with dancing; now with my Gittern,[1] and else with my Cittern,[2] then at the Virginals [3]—ye know nothing comes amiss to me—then carol I up a song withal, that by and bye they come flocking about me like bees to honey: and ever they cry, "Another, good Laneham, another!" . . . By my truth, countryman, it is sometime by midnight ere I can get from them. And thus have I told ye most of my trade, all the live-long day: what will ye more? God save the Queen and my Lord! I am well, I thank you.

[1] Guitar.
[2] Shaped like a guitar, but with wire strings.
[3] The forerunner of the modern upright piano.

24. THE EDUCATION OF ROBERT LANEHAM [1575]

SOURCE: As previous extract.

Herewith meant I fully to bid ye farewell, had not this doubt come to my mind, that here remains a doubt in you which I ought (me thought) in any ways to clear: which is, ye marvel perchance to see me so bookish. Let me tell you in a few words: I went to school forsooth both at St Pauls' and also at Saint Anthony's: in the fifth form, past Æsop's Fables I was, read Terence: "Vos istaec intro auferte": and began my Virgil: "Tytire tu patulae." I knew my rules, could construe and parse with the best of them. Since that, as partly ye know, have I traded the feat of merchandise in sundry countries, and so got me languages, which do so little hinder my Latin, as (I thank God) have much increased it. I have leisure sometime, when I tend not upon the council; whereby, now look I on one book, now on another. Stories I delight in, the more ancient and rare, the more likesome to me. If I told ye, I liked William of Malmesbury so well, because of his diligence and antiquity, perchance ye would construe it because I love Malmsey so well: but in faith! it is not so, for sipped I no more sack and sugar (and yet never but with company) than I do Malmsey, I should not blush so much a days as I do: ye know my mind. Well now! thus fare ye heartily well! i' faith! if with wishing it could have been, ye had had a book or two this summer; but we shall come nearer shortly, and then shall we merely meet; and grace a God! in the meantime commend me, I beseech you, unto my good friends, almost most of them your neighbours, Master Alderman Pullison, a special friend of mine; and in any wise, to my good old friend Master Smith, Customer [collector of Customs], by that same token, "Set my horse up to the rack and then let's have a cup of sack!" He knows the token well enough and will laugh,

I hold ye a groat. To Master Thorogood, and to my merry companion (a Mercer, ye wot, as we be) Master Denman, "Mio fratello in Christo": he is wont to summon me by the name of "Ro. La. of the County Nosingham,[1] Gentleman." A good companion, i' faith! Well once again, fare ye heartily well? From the Court. At the City of Worcester, the XX of August 1575.

Your countryman, companion and friend assuredly: Mercer, Merchant-adventurer, and Clerk of the Council-chamber door, and also keeper of the same: El Principe Negro. Par me, R. L. gent. Mercer.

25. REVELS AT KENILWORTH [1575]

SOURCE: As previous extract.

Music and Dancing.

On Sunday the forenoon occupied (as for the Sabbath day) in quiet and vacation from work, and in divine service and preaching at the parish church. The afternoon in excellent music of sundry sweet instruments, and in dancing of Lords and Ladies, and other worshipful degrees, uttered with such lively agility and commendable grace, as, whether it might be more strange to the eye, or pleasant to the mind, for my part indeed I could not discern: but excellently well was it (methought) in both.

Fireworks.

At night late, as though Jupiter the last night had forgot for business, or forborn for courtesy and quiet, part of his welcome unto her highness [Queen Elizabeth] appointed: now entering at the first into his purpose moderately (as mortals do) with a warning piece or two, proceeding on with increase; at last the Altitonant displays me his main power: with blaze of burning darts, flying

[1] A quiz on the colour of Laneham's nose, which apparently "blushed" in sympathy with his cheeks.

to and fro, leams of stars coruscant, streams and hails of fiery sparks, lightnings of wild fire on water and land, flight and shoot of thunderbolts ; all with such countenance, terror, and vehemence, that the heavens thundered, the waters surged, the earth shook, and in such sort surely, as, had we not been assured the thunderful deity was all hot in amity, and could not otherwise witness his welcoming unto her highness, it would have made me for my part, as hardy as I am, very vengeably afeard. This ado lasted while the midnight was past. . . .

Deer-hunting.

Munday was hot ; therefore her highness kept in till five o'clock in the evening : what time it pleased her to ride forth into the chase to hunt the Hart . . . which found anon, and after sore chase, and chafed by the hot pursuit of the hounds, was fain, of fine strength, at last to take soil.[1] There to behold the swift fleeting of the deer in front, with the stately carriage of his head in his swimming, spred (for the quantity) like the sail of a ship : the hounds harrowing after, as they had been a number of skiffs to the spoil of the carvel[2] ; the one no less eager in purchase of his prey, than was the other in safeguard of his life : so as the earning[3] of the hounds in continuance of their cry, the swiftness of the Deer, the running of footmen, the galloping of horses, the blasting of horns, the halloing and shouts of the huntsmen, with the excellent echoes between whiles from the woods and waters in valleys resounding, moved pastime delightful to so high a degree, as for any person to take pleasure by most senses at once ; in my opinion there can be no one way comparable to this, and especially in this place, that of nature is formed . . . for the purpose. . . . Well, the hart was killed, a goodly deer.

[1] *i.e.* to run to water.
[2] A vessel of about 140 tons burthen.
[3] Baying.

Bear-baiting.

A great sort of bandogs [a kind of mastiff] were there tied in the outer court, and thirteen bears in the inner . . . the bears were brought forth into the court, the dogs set to them . . . very fierce both the one and the other and eager in argument. If the dog would pluck the bear by the throat, the bear would claw him again by the scalp. . . . Thus with plucking and tugging, scratching and biting, by plain tooth and nail on one side and the other, such expense of blood and leather was there between them, as a month's licking (I ween) will not recover. . . . It was a sport very pleasant, of these beasts: to see the bear with his pink eyes leering after his enemy's approach, the nimbleness and watch of the dog to take his advantage, and the force and experience of the bear again to avoid the assaults: if he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free: that if he were taken once, then what shift, with biting, with clawing, with roaring, tossing and tumbling, he would work to wind himself from them: and when he was loose, to shake his ears twice or thrice with the blood and the saliva about his face, was a matter of a goodly relief. . . .

An Italian Acrobat.

In the meantime was there shown before her highness, by an Italian, such feats of agility in goings, turnings, tumblings, castings, hops, jumps, leaps, skips, springs, gambols, somersaults, capers, and flights: forward, backward, sideways, down, up, and with sundry windings, gyrings and circumflexions: also lightly and with such ease, as by me in few words it is not expressible by pen or speech, I tell you plain. I blessed me, by my faith, to behold him, and began to doubt whether he was a man or a spirit. . . .

26. THE LIBRARY OF CAPTAIN COX [1575]

SOURCE: As previous extract.

But beware, keep back, make room now, here they come!

And first, Captain Cox, an odd man I promise you: by profession a Mason, and that right skilful, very cunning in fencing, and hardy as Gawin; for his tonsword [? one-handed sword] hangs at his table's end; great oversight hath he in matters of story: for, as for

I. King Arthur's book. [Malory's *Morte Darthur*.]

II. Huon of Bourdeaux. [A translation by Lord Berners of a French romance.]

III. The four sons of Aymon. [A translation by Caxton of a French romance.]

IV. Bevis of Hampton. [A French romance.]

V. The Squire of Low Degree. [A poem.]

VI. The Knight of Courtesy and the Lady Faguell. [A metrical romance.]

VII. Frederick of Jennen. [A tract.]

VIII. Sir Eglamore. [A romance.]

IX. Sir Triamore. [A romance.]

X. Sir Lamwell. [A romance.]

XI. Sir Isumbras. [A romance.]

XII. Sir Gawain. [A romance.]

XIII. Oliver of the Castle. [A Spanish romance.]

XIV. Lucrece and Eurialus. [A Latin romance written by Pope Pius II.]

XV. Virgil's Life. [Not Virgil the Latin poet, but Virgil the magician.]

XVI. The Castle of Ladies.

XVII. The Widow Edith. [A poem.]

XVIII. The King and the Tanner. [A short story.]

XIX. Friar Rush. [A tale "full of pleasant mirth and delight for young people."]

XX. Howleglas. [A merry jest of a man called Howleglas.]

Hunting in Elizabeth's time

Here begynneth a mery geste of the frere and the boye.

GOd that dyed for vs all
And dranke bothe eysell and gall
Brynge vs out of bale
And gyue them good lyfe & longe
That lysteneth to my songe
Or tendeth to my tale
There dwelled an husbonde in my countre
That had wyues thre
By processe of tyme
By the fyrst wyfe a sone he had
That was a good sturdy ladde
And an happy hyne
His fader loued hym wele
So dyde his moder neuer a dele
I tell you as I thynke
All the thought was lost by the rode
That dyde the lytell boye ony good
Other mete or drynke

A page from *The Friar and the Boy*

XXI. Gargantua. [A romance translated from Rabelais.]

XXII. Robin Hood.

XXIII. Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley. [A ballad dealing with three bold outlaws of the North.]

XXIV. The Churl and the Bird. [A popular poem by Lydgate.]

XXV. The Seven Wise Masters. [A collection of stories done also in verse under the title of "The Seven Sages."]

XXVI. The Wife wrapped in a Morell's skin. [An amusing old poem dealing with the Charming or Taming of a Shrew: Morell was a blind old horse, in whose salted skin the husband places his shrewish wife, which makes her smart.]

XXVII. The Sackfull of News. [A story and jest book.]

XXVIII. The Sergeant that became a Friar. [A poem said to have been written by Sir Thomas More.]

XXIX. Scogin. [A book of jests.]

XXX. Colin Clout. [A satire by Skelton, poet-laureate to Henry VIII., against Cardinal Wolsey.]

XXXI. The Friar and the Boy. [A merry and popular poem.]

XXXII. Eleanor Rumming. [A poem by Skelton giving a life-like picture of a Surrey ale-wife of the time of Henry VIII.]

XXXIII. The Nut Brown Maid. [See Vol. II. p. 101.]

With many more than I rehearse here: I believe he has them all at his finger ends.

Then in Philosophy, both moral and natural, I think he be as naturally overseen [well-learned]: beside poetry and astronomy and other hid sciences, as I may guess by the omberty [? shadowing] of his books: whereof part as I remember:—

XXXIV. The Shepherd's Calendar. [A handbook of Popular Philosophy.]

XXXV. The Ship of Fools. [A satire.]

XXXVI. Daniel's Dreams. [An astrological treatise.]

XXXVII. The Book of Fortune. [A verse tract supposed to have been written by Sir Thomas More.]

XXXVIII. Stans Puer ad Mensam. [Lydgate's translation of a Latin poem on how a youth should behave at meals.]

XXXIX. The High-way to the Hospital. [A sketch of the rogues, etc., who resorted to St Bartholomew's Hospital.]

XL. Julian of Brainford's Testament. [A poem which exposes the vices and follies of Henry VIII.'s time.]

XLI. The Castle of Love. [A Spanish romance.]

XLII. The Budget of Demands. [A series of questions and answers.]

XLIII. The Hundred Merry Tales. [A Text-book alluded to by Shakespeare in his *Much Ado About Nothing*.]

XLIV. The Book of Riddles.

XLV. The Seven Sorrows of Women. [A series of poems.]

XLVI. The Proud Wife's Paternoster. [A satirical poem.]

XLVII. The Chapman of a Pennyworth of Wit. [A poem.]

Besides his ancient plays :—

XLVIII. Youth and Charity.

XLIX. Hycke scorner.

L. New Guise.

LI. Impatient Poverty.

And herewith :—

LII. Doctor Boorde's Breviary of Health. [A medicinal treatise.]

What should I rehearse here, what a bunch of ballads and songs, all ancient : As :—

LIII. Broom, broom on hill.

LIV. So well is me begone, troly lo !

LV. Over a whinny, Meg.

LVI. Hey ding a ding.
LVII. Bonny lass upon a green.
LVIII. My bonny one gave me a kiss.
LIX. By a bank as I lay.

And a hundred more, he hath, fair wrapped up in parchment, and bound with a whipcord.

And as for almanacs of antiquity (a point for Ephemerides) I ween he can show from (LX.) Jasper Laet of Antwerp, unto (LXI.) Nosterdame of France and thence unto our (LXII.) John Securis of Salisbury. To stay ye no longer herein, I dare say he hath as fair a library for these sciences, and as many goodly monuments both in prose and poetry, and at afternoons can talk as much without book, as any Innholder betwixt Brainford and Bagshot, what degree soever he be.

Besides this, in the field a good Marshal at musters: of very great credit and trust in the town here, for he has been chosen Ale-conner [an officer of the Court-Leet, sworn to look after the Goodness of Bread, Ale and Beer] many a year, when his betters have stood by: and ever acquitted himself with such estimation, as yet to the taste of a cup of Nippitate [strong ale], his judgment will be taken above the best in the parish, be his nose near so red.

27. A SYSTEM OF ENGLISH PHONETICS [*circa* 1580]

SOURCE: Camden, *Remains concerning Britain.*

Sir Thomas Smith, her Majestie's Secretary not long since, a man of great learning and judgment, occasioned by some uncertainty of our Orthography, though it seemed grounded upon sound Reason and Custom, laboured to reduce it to certain heads. Seeing that whereas of Necessity there must be so many letters in every tongue as there are simple and single sounds, that the Latine letters were not sufficient to express all our simple sounds; there-

fore he wished that we should have A short and A long, because *a* in Man, and in *Mân* of horse, hath different sounds; E long, as in *Mên*, moderate; and *e* short, as in Men, and an English e as in wee, thee, be, me; I long and I short, as in Bi, *per* [the Latin preposition], and Bi, *emere* [the Latin verb "to buy"]; [1] O short and O long, as in smoke [smock] of a woman, and smoke of the fire; *U* long as in But, *Ocrea* [Latin for "boot"], and *U* short, as in But, *Sed* [Latin conj. "but"]; and u for y Greek, as flu, nu, tru. For consonants he would have C be never used but for Ch, as it was among the old English, and K in all other words; for Th he would have the Saxon letter *Thorne*, which was a D with a dash through the head, or þ; for I consonant the Saxon ȝ, as ȝet, not Jeat, for Ieat-stone, ȝay for jay; Q, if he were King of the A, B, C, should be put to the horn and banished, and Ku in his place, as *Kuik* not quick, *Kuarel* not Quarel; Z he would have used for the softer S, or eth, or es, as *dîz* for dieth, *lîz* for lies, and the same S inverted for *sh*, as *Sal* for *shall*, *fles* for *flesh*. Thus briefly I have set you down his device, which albeit Sound and Reason seemed to countenance, yet that Tyrant Custom hath so confronted that it will never be admitted.

28. FOOTBALL AND STARCHED RUFFS [1583]

Source: Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses*, from the edition by Turnbull in 1836.

(1) *Football.*

As concerning football playing, I protest unto you it may rather be called a friendly kinde of fight than a play or recreation; a bloody and murthering practise, than a felowly sporte or pastime. For dooth not every one lye in waight for his adversarie, seeking to overthrowe him, and to picke [2] him on his nose, though it be uppon hard

[1] It is interesting to notice how the pronunciation of "buy" has changed.
[2] Pitch.

stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soever it be, hee careth not, so he have him down. And he that can serve the most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow; and who but he? So that by this means, sometimes their necks are broken, sometimes their backs, sometime their legs, sometime their armes; sometime one part thrust out of joynt, sometime another; sometime the noses gush out with blood, sometime their eyes start out, and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best, goeth not scot free, but is either sore wounded, craised, and bruseed, so as he dyeth of it, or else scapeth very hardly. And no mervaile, for they have the sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dasheh im against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him under the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him upon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering devices; and hereof groweth envy, malice, rancour, choler, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel-picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience daly teacheth.

Is this murthering play, now, an exercise for the Sabath day? is this a Christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that upon prepensed malice or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to us? God make us more careful over the bodyes of our brethren!

(2) *Starched Ruffs.*

Theod. I have heard it said that they vse great ruffes in Dnalgne [England], do they continue them still as they were woont to doe, or not?

Amphil. There is no amendment in anything that I can see, neither in one thing nor in other, but every day

woorser and woorser, for they not only continue their great ruffes still, but also vse them bigger than ever they did. And whereas before they were too bad, now they are past al shame and honestie, yea most abominable and detestable, and such as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare the like. And if it be true, as I heare say, they haue their starching houses made of purpose, to that vse and end only, the better to trimme and dresse their ruffes to pleese the diuels eies withall.

Theod. Haue they starching houses of purpose made to starch in? Now truly that passes of all that ever I heard. And do they nothing in those houses but onelie starch bands and ruffes?

Amphil. No, nothing else, for to that end only were they erected, and therefore now are consecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus archdiuels of great ruffes.

Theod. Haue they not also houses to set their ruffes in, to trim them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in?

Amphil. Yea marry haue they, for either the same starching houses . . . do serue the turn, or else they haue their other chambers and secret closets to the same vse, wherein they tricke up these cart wheeles of the diuels charet of pride, leading the direct way to the dungeon of hell.

Theod. What tooles and instruments haue they to set their ruffes withall: For I am persuaded they cannot set them artificially inough without some kind of tooles?

Amphil. Very true: and doe you thinke that they want anything that might set forth their diuelrie to the world? In faith sir, no, then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients so, that maintaine his kingdome of pride with such diligence as they doe. And therefore I would you wist it, they haue their tooles and instruments for the purpose.

Theod. Whereof be they mayde I pray you, or howe?

Amphil. They be made of yron and steel, and some

of brasse, kept as bright as silver, yea and some of silver it selfe, and it is well, if in processe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made, I cannot resemble to anything so well as to a squirt, or a squibbe, which little children vsed to squirt out water withall: and when they come to starching, and setting of their ruffes, then must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffen the ruffe. For you know heate will drie, and stiffen anything. And if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, forsooth the deuill hath given it to name a putter, or else a putting sticke, as I heare say. They haue also another instrument called a setting stick, either of wood or bone, and sometimes of gold and silver, make forked wise at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they set their ruffes. But because this cursed fruit is not yet grown to his full perfection of ripenesse, I will therefore at this time say not more of it, vntil I here more.

29. THE COLONISATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND [1583]

SOURCE: Hakluyt, *Voyages.*

Written by Mr Edward Haie, gentleman and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued unto the end, and by God's speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

We began our voyage upon Tuesday the eleventh day of June in the year of our Lord 1583, having in our fleet (at our departure from Causet Bay [1]) these ships as followeth: (The *Delight*; the Barke *Raleigh*, "set forth by Mr Walter Raleigh"; the *Golden Hinde*; the *Swallow*; and the *Squirrel.*)

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as ship-wrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, and such like requisite to such an action:

[1] "Neere unto Plymouth." (Spelled also "Causon.")

also mineral men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, we were provided of music in good variety: not omitting the least toys, as Morris dancers, hobby horses, and May-like conceits to delight the savage people, whom we intended to win by all fair means possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdashery wares to barter with those simple people. . . .

Saturday the 27 of July, we might descry not far from us, as it were mountains of ice driven upon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were carried southward to the weather of us.

Before we come to Newfoundland, about 50 leagues on this side, we pass the bank, which are high grounds rising within the sea and under water, yet deep enough and without danger. . . . The breadth of this bank is somewhere more, and somewhere less. The Portugals and French chiefly have a notable trade of fishing upon the bank, where are sometimes 100 or more sails of ships, who commonly begin the fishing in April, and have ended by July. . . .

(Aug. 3—Saturday.) Trending this coast we came to the island called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the main. . . .

Monday following [August 5], the general[1] had his tent set up, who being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the merchants and masters, both English and strangers, to be present at his taking possession of those countries. Before whom openly was read and interpreted unto the strangers his commission: by virtue whereof he took possession in the same harbour of St John, and 200 leagues every way; invested the queen's majesty with the title and dignity thereof; had delivered unto him (after the custom of England) a rod and a turf of the same soil, entering possession also for him and his heirs and assigns for ever:

[1] Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

And signified unto all men that from that time forward, they should take the same land as territory appertaining to the Queen of England. . . . At the same time, for a beginning, he proposed and delivered three laws to be in force immediately. . . .

The first, for religion, which in public exercise should be according to the Church of England. The second, for maintenance of her majesty's right and possession of those territories, against which if anything were attempted prejudicial, the party or parties offending should be adjudged and exectuted as in case of high treason, according to the laws of England. The third, if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her majesty, he should lose his ears, and have his ship and goods confiscate. . . . After this the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not far from that place the arms of England engraven in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in right of her majesty, and to the behoof of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, his heirs, and assigns for ever, the general granted in fee farm divers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbour of St John, and elsewhere.

[*The expedition having met with storm and discomfort in their further sailings and investigation, and their supply of food growing scanty,*]

Upon Saturday in the afternoon the 31st of August we changed our course, and returned back for England.

30. ENGLISH TACTICS AGAINST THE ARMADA [1588]

SOURCE: Sir Walter Raleigh, *History of the World.* Ed. 1676.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a fight at sea, must be skilful in making choice of vessels to fight in; he must believe that there is more belonging to a good man-of-war upon the waters than great daring; and must

know that there is a great deal of difference between fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The guns of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together without consideration belongs rather to a madman than to a man of war; for by such an ignorant bravery was Peter Strossie lost at the Azores, when he fought against the Marquis of Santa Cruz. In like sort had the Lord Charles Howard, Admiral of England, been lost in the year 1588, if he had not been better advised than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an army aboard them, and he had none; they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he entangled himself with those great and powerful vessels, he had greatly endangered this kingdom of England. For twenty men upon the defences are equal to an hundred that board and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the Spaniards had an hundred for twenty of ours, to defend themselves withal.

But our admiral knew his advantage, and held it; which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here to speak in general of sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the press) I say, that a fleet of twenty ships, all good sailers and good ships, have the advantage, on the open sea, of an hundred as good ships and of slower sailing.

31. DOMESTIC EXPENSES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY [1589]

SOURCE: *The Darrell Papers*, as quoted in Hall's *Society in the Elizabethan Age*.

[*Note.*—These prices should be multiplied by at least seven to give an approximate comparison with present-day prices.]

(1) *Travelling Expenses and Carriage.*

Charges to London [from Littlecote, Wiltshire] for three, 5s. 4d. Charges there in dressing trouts, 2s. 8d. Boat

to Barne Elmes and back, 2s. 8d. Charges from London for two, 2s. 8d. Mending a saddle at London, 4d. . . . Carriage of garden-tools from London, 2s. . . . A messenger for Mr Webb to go to London, 6d. . . . J. Horseman when he sought Mr Stubbs' mare, 4s. . . . Our charges at Wallingford when we did fetch the mare, 18d. Our horsemeat there, 12d. Mr Molyns for keeping the mare and colt, 13s. 4d. R. Phillips seeking for the mare, 15d. T. Lazenby to London and home, 9s. 4d.

(2) *Wages of Farm Labourers at Littlecote.*

Osmond, 2 days' work, 6d., and 4 days' work, 16d. Osmond, for hedging and felling the coppice, 38s., Walter Eyres, Parker and Edney for helping with the Rick, 9d. . . . A Thatcher for 5 days' work, 2s. . . . A woman "yelming" [1] 10 days, 20d. Mowing the Wearmead, 17s. 6d. Sandes, 3 days' threshing, 9d.

(3) *Miscellaneous.*

Garden seeds, 3s. 8d. Rosemary seeds, 10d. Rosemary, 6d. Strawberries, 9d. Brand-iron, 20d. 2 bottles of vinegar, 8d. Pair of hose and shoes for Anthony Swayte, 2s. 4d. Two pheasant-nets, 15d.

(4) *Wages of Skilled Labourers at Littlecote.*

Lionel Pearce, for making 15 dozen hurdles, 12s. 6d. The Taskers at Littlecote . . . for threshing 37 quarters [of wheat], 18s. 6d. Dressing a mangy mare and a colt, 2s. 10d. Setting 3 horse-shoes, 9d. The rat-catcher, 2s. 6d. J. Mitchell and Harry Cook for fishing, 16d.

(5) *Washing* (3 months).

5 shirts, handkerchiefs, night kerchiefs, and socks, 18d. Anthony's clothes, 12d. 6 shirts, 18 handkerchiefs, and a waiscoat, 2s. 6 shirts, handkerchiefs, night kerchiefs, socks

[1] Arranging straw for thatching.

and collars, 20d. 5 shirts, 8 handkerchiefs, a night kerchief, a collar and socks, 20d. Antony's clothes, 10d. 4 shirts, 12d. 4 shirts, 6 handkerchiefs, socks and night kerchiefs, 14d. 3 shirts, 4 handkerchiefs, and socks, 10d. 3 shirts, 5 handkerchiefs, 10d. 2 shirts, 4 handkerchiefs, 1 pair socks, and 5 sheets, 13d. 6 shirts, 6 handkerchiefs, and 1 pair socks, 19d. 4 shirts, 5 handkerchiefs, and 1 pair socks, 13d. 1 tablecloth, and 14 napkins, 14d. *Total*, £0, 17s. 5d.

(6) *Dress.*

Mending Anthony's shoes, 6d. Pair of shoes for him and mending his hose, 20d. Mr More for a pair of gloves when he went to Ratcliff, 18d. Twelve Badges (besides 16s. which his Worship paid), 20s. Pair of shoes for his Worship, 2s. 9d. 4 shirts, 6 bands, 6 pair cuffs (besides 6s. which his Worship paid), £4.

6¾ yds. murry satin, at 12s., £4. 1s. (whereof Cornelius, the tailor, paid 41s., namely, of Mrs Biggs, 20s., and this accountant, 20s.). . . . 4¼ ells murry taffeta sarsnet to line a doublet and canions, 15s. . . . Three dozen of buttons, 12d. Silk to make button holes, 6d. A canopy embroidered with a train of changeable taffeta, £8. Cornelius the tailor in his bill, 30s. His man Humphrey, 12d. 3½ yards of black satin at 12s. 6d. . . . Pair of shoes, 2s. 6d. Raising a pair of shoes, 1d. . . . Mending a pair of shoes, 5d.

(7) *Furniture and Household Stuff.*

His worship when he bought table-boards, £4. Two glass bottles, 2s. . . . Two chairs covered with grene, 22s. . . . Three dozen of trenchers, 15d. Long table cloths, 5s. Percy which he paid for cloth for a pair of sheets; two diaper cloths; 3 table napkins, etc., 40s. Three brooms, 2d. Sope, 3d. Nails for the carpenter, 4d. Taps, 1d.

. . . Hazelden for the curtains of Wedmoll lace, rings, curtain rods, and making, 18s. 1 lb. of candles, 4d. A dozen of Pewter trencher plates, 5s. 6 spoons, 5d. An earthern salt pot, 2d. Salt, 3d. Sand to scour the pewter, 1d. Hazelden for mats and matting the great chamber and middle chamber, 4s. 6d. Looking glass, 5s. The carpenter for sawing the end of a form, 2d.

(8) *Sundries.*

¼ oz. of tobacco, 10d. . . . Four tobacco pipes, 2s. Ink and a glass, 2d. The Apothecary upon his bill, 8s. Gardening stuff for Cornelius the gardener, 23s. 3d. Quire of Paper, 2d. Sweetmeats at Mistress West's, 21s. 2½ oz. dates, 5d. . . . Percy which he paid for a book, 6d. Paper and parchment, 8d. A basket, 2s. 6d.

(9) *Hotel Bill.*

Friday dyner Juny 20.

Butter	iiijd.
A pece of bief	xiiijd
A legg of mutton	xviijd.
A loyne of veale	xxijd.
2 peckes of pescodes	viij.
3 rabbettes	ijs.
A quart of creame	vjd.
3 quarts of strawberries	xvjd.
2 li. of cheries	xxd.
Di : li. of muske confectes	xd.
Di : li. of violett confectes	xjd.
Orenges	iijd.
2 Lemans	vjd.
Bred	viijd.
Beare	ixd.
	0·14·11

(10) *Wild Darrel's Fare in London* (1589).

[Darrel had bachelor apartments in a house in Warwick Lane, near Ludgate Hill, and kept a sumptuous table for himself and his friends.]

Wednesday dyner Maij 14.

A pece of bief	xviijd.
2 playses	xijd.
Conger	viijd.
Cockles	iiijd.
Mackerell	viijd.
A pound of butter	iiijd.
A pynt of white wyne & lemon & sugar .	vjd.
2 chickens	xvjd.
For rostinge ye chickens & dressing ye fishe	xijd.
	0·7·4

Supper eodem.

Colde bief	xiiijd.
A shoulder of mutton	xviijd.
2 chickens	xiiijd.
Butter	ijd.
For dressinge ye mutton & chickens & sops and sawce	xjd.
	0·4·11

32. LONDON APPRENTICES [*circa* 1600]

SOURCE: Stow, *Survey of London*. Ed. Strype. Vol. II.

The ancient habit of the apprentices of London was a flat round cap, hair close cut, narrow falling bands, coarse

side coats, close hose, cloth stockings, and other such severe apparel. When this garb had been urged by some to the disparagement of apprentices, as a token of servitude, one, many a year ago, undertaking the defence of these apprentices, wrote thus, that this imported the commendable thrift of the citizens, and was only the mark of an apprentice's vocation and calling (and which anciently, no question, was the ordinary habit of a citizen), which point of ancient discipline, he said, the grave common lawyers do still retain in their profession; for the professors of that learning, we see, do at this present retain the parti-coloured coats of serving-men at their serjeants feasts; and he wished, that the remembrance of this ancient livery might be preserved by the grave citizens, in setting apart a particular time or day for the feast of their apprenticeship, when they should wear their former apprentice's garb; making profession in this way, that they gloried in the ensigns of their honest apprenticeship.

In the time of Queen Mary, the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, as well as many years before, all apprentices wore blue cloaks in the summer, and blue gowns in the winter. But it was not lawful for any man, either servant or other, to wear their gowns lower than the calves of their legs, except they were above threescore years of age; but, the length of the cloaks being not limited, they made them down to their shoes. Their breeches and stockings were usually of white broad cloath, viz. round slops, and their stockings sewed up close thereto, as if they were all but one piece. They also wore flat caps both then and many years after, as well apprentices as journeymen and others, both at home and abroad; whom the pages of the court in derision called flat-caps.

When apprentices and journeymen attended upon their masters and mistresses in the night they went before them carrying a lanthorn and candle in their hands and a great

long club on their necks; and many well-grown sturdy apprentices used to wear long daggers in the day time on their backs or sides.

Anciently it was the general use and custom of all apprentices in London (mercers only excepted, being commonly merchants, and of better rank, as it seems) to carry water tankards, to serve their masters' houses with water, fetched either from the Thames, or the common conduits of London.

It was a great matter in former times to give £10 to bind a youth apprentice; but in King James the First's time, they gave £20, £40, £60 and sometimes £100 with an apprentice; but now these prices are vastly enhanced, to £500, £600, or £800.

33. THE EXCELLENCY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE [*circa* 1600]

SOURCE: The treatise by Richard Carew (*b.* 1555, *d.* 1620), included in Camden's *Remains concerning Britain.*

I come now to the last and sweetest point of the sweetness of our tongue, which shall appear the more plainly, if . . . we match it with our neighbours. The Italian is pleasant but without sinews, as a still fleeting water. The French, delicate, but even nice as a woman, scarce daring to open her lips for fear of marring her countenance. The Spanish, majestical, but fulsome, running too much on the O, and terrible like the devil in a play. The Dutch, manlike, but withal very harsh, as one ready at every word to pick a quarrel. Now we, in borrowing from them, give the strength of consonants to the Italian, the full sound of words to the French, the variety of terminations to the Spanish, and the mollifying of more vowels to the Dutch, and so (like Bees) gather the honey of their good properties and leave the dregs to themselves.

And thus when substantialness combineth with delightfulness, fulness with fineness, seemliness with portliness, and currantness with stayedness, how can the language which consisteth of all these sound other than most full of sweetness ?

Again, the long words that we borrow, being intermingled with the short of our own store, make up a perfect harmony ; by culling from out which mixture (with judgment) you may frame your speech according to the matter you must work on, majestical, pleasant, delicate, or manly, more or less, in what sort you please. Add hereunto, that whatsoever grace any other language carrieth in verse or prose, in Tropes or Metaphors, in Ecchoes and Agnominations, they may all be lively and exactly represented in ours. Will you have Plato's vein ? read Sir Tho. Smith ; the Ionick ? Sir Thomas Moor ; Cicero's ? Ascham ; Varro ? Chaucer ; Demosthenes ? Sir John Cheek (who, in his treatise to the Rebels, hath comprised all the figures of Rhetorick.) Will you read Virgil ? take the Earl of Surrey ; Catullus ? Shakesphear and Barlow's fragment ; Ovid ? Daniel ; Lucan ? Spencer ; Martial ? Sir John Davies, and others. Will you have all in all for prose and verse ? take the miracle of our age, Sir Philip Sydney.

And thus, if mine own eyes be not blinded by affection, I have made yours to see that the most renowned of other Nations have layed up, as in treasure, and entrusted the *Divisos orbe Britannos* with the rarest jewels of their lips perfections, whether you respect the understanding for significancy, or the memory for easiness, or the conceit for plentifulness, or the ear for pleasantness : wherein if enough be delivered, to adde more than enough were superfluous ; if too little, I leave it to be supplyed by better stored capacities ; if ought amiss, I submit the same to the discipline of every able and impartial censurer.

34. THE LAST FIGHT OF THE *REVENGE* [1591]

SOURCE: Sir Walter Ralegh, *A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores*, 1591, *betwixt the "Revenge" and an Armada of the King of Spain.* Pinkerton's *Voyages*, 1808.

The Lord Thomas Howard with six of her majesty's ships, six victuallers of London, the bark *Ralegh* and two or three pinnaces riding at anchor near unto Flores, one of the westerly islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoon, had intelligence by one Captain Middleton of the approach of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton, being a very good sailor, had kept them company three days before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more as also to give advice to my Lord Thomas of their approach. He had no sooner delivered the news but the fleet was in sight: many of our ships' companies were on shore in the island; some providing ballast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could either for money or by force recover. By reason whereof, our ships being all pestered and romaging, everything [was] out of order [and] very light for want of ballast, and that which was most to our disadvantage, the one half part of the men of every ship sick and utterly unserviceable. For in the *Revenge*, there were ninety diseased: in the *Bonaventure*, not so many in health as could handle her main sail. . . . The Spanish fleet, having shrouded their approach by reason of the island, were now so soon at hand, as our ships had scarce time to weigh their anchors, but some of them were driven to let slip their cables and set sail. Sir Richard Grenville [in the *Revenge*] was the last weighed, to recover the men that were upon the island, which otherwise had been lost. The Lord Thomas with the rest very hardly recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Grenville not being able to do, was persuaded

by the master and others to cut his main sail, and cast about and to trust to the sailing of his ship; for the squadron of Seville were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turn from the enemy, alleging that he would rather choose to die, than dishonour himself, his country, and her majesty's ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons, in despite of them: and enforce those of Seville to give him way. Which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the mariners term it, sprang their luff and fell under the lee of the *Revenge*. . . . In the meanwhile as he attended those which were nearest him, the great *San Philip* being in the wind of him, and coming toward him, becalmed his sails in such sort, as the ship could neither make way nor feel the helm: so huge and high charged was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tons, who afterlaid the *Revenge* aboard. . . . The said *Philip* carried three tier of ordnance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tier. She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her stern ports.

After the *Revenge* was entangled with this *Philip*, four other boarded her; two on her larboard, and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoon, continued very terrible all that evening. But the great *San Philip* having received the lower tier of the *Revenge*, discharged with crossbar-shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the ship foundered, but we cannot report it for truth, unless we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of soldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners, in some five, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all, besides the mariners, but the servants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen only. After many interchanged volleys of great ordnance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the

Revenge and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soldiers and musketeers, but were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back into their own ships, or into the sea. . . . After the fight had thus without intermission continued while the day lasted and some hours of the night, many of our men were slain and hurt, and one of the great galleons of the armada and the *Admiral of the Hulks* both sunk, and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechless for a time ere he recovered. But two of the *Revenge's* own company, brought home in a ship of Lima from the islands, examined by some of the Lords and others, affirmed that he was never so wounded as that he forsook the upper deck, till an hour before midnight; and then being shot into the body with a musket as he was a-dressing, was again shot into the head; and withal his chirugeon wounded to death. . . . But to return to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to board the *Revenge*, as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having never less than two mighty galleons by her sides and aboard her. So that ere the morning, from three of the clock the day before, there had fifteen several armados assailed her; and all so ill approved their entertainment, as they were by the break of day, far more willing to hearken to a composition, than hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day increased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grew the discomforts. . . .

All the powder of the *Revenge* to the last barrel was now spent, all her pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and fourscore and ten sick, laid in hold upon the ballast:

a small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the volleys, boardings and enterings of fifteen ships of war besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron: all manner of arms and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men or weapons; the masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upperwork altogether razed, and in effect evened she was with the water, but the very foundation or bottom of the ship, nothing being left overhead either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himself in this distress and unable any longer to make resistance . . . and that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him . . . commanded the master gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship; that thereby nothing might remain of glory or victory to the Spaniards. . . . And persuaded the company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else. . . . The master gunner readily condescended and divers others; but the captain and the master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them: alleging that the Spaniard would be ready to entertain a composition, as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their country and prince acceptable service hereafter. And (that where Sir Richard had alleged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one ship of her majesty's, seeing that they had so long and so notably defended themselves) they answered, that the ship had six foot water in the hold, three shots under water, which were so weakly stopped, as with the first working of

the sea, she must needs sink, and was besides so crushed and bruised, as she could never be removed out of the place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of these reasons: the master of the *Revenge* . . . was convoyed aboard the *General Don Alfonso Bassen*: who . . . yielded that all their lives should be saved, the company sent for England, and the better sort to pay such reasonable ransom as their estate would bear, and in the mean season to be free from galley or imprisonment. . . .

When this answer was returned, and that safety of life was promised, the common sort being now at the end of their peril, the most drew back from Sir Richard and the master gunner. . . . The master gunner finding himself and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a sword, had he not been by force witheld and locked into his cabin. Then the *General* sent many boats aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of our men fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the *General* and other ships.

Sir Richard, thus overmatched, was sent unto by Alfonso Bassen to remove out of the *Revenge*. . . . Sir Richard answered that he might do with his body what he list, for he esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the ship he swooned, and reviving again, desired the company to pray for him. The General used Sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery, highly commending his valour and worthiness. . . . Sir Richard died, as it is said, the second or third day aboard the *General* and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remaineth to his friends is, that he hath ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation won to his nation and country,

and of the same to his posterity, and that being dead, he hath not outlived his own honour.

35. SOLDIER'S PAY [1598]

SOURCE: Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*. Vol. II.

The establishment was signed by the Queen the four and twenty of March, being the last day (after the English account) of the year 1598. It contained: first the pay of the chief officers in the Army: the Lord Lieutenant General ten pound a day; the Lieutenant of the Army three pound a day; the General of the Horse forty shillings a day; the Marshal of the Camp thirty shillings a day; the Sergeant Major twenty shillings a day; the Lieutenant of the Horse twenty shillings a day; the Quartermaster twenty shillings a day; the Judge Marshal twenty shillings a day; the Auditor General thirteen shillings four pence a day; the Controller General of the victuals ten shillings a day; the Lieutenant of the Ordnance ten shillings a day; the Surveyor six shillings eight pence; two clerks of Munitions each five shillings a day; four Corporals of the field six shillings eight pence a day a piece; one Commissary of victuals eight shillings, and three other, each six shillings a day; the Carriage Master six shillings eight pence a day; and twenty Colonels, each ten shillings a day. . . .

It contained further the pay of thirteen hundred horse, divided into six and twenty bands, each band having a Captain at four shillings a day, a Lieutenant at two shillings six pence a day, a Cornet at two shillings a day, and fifty horsemen each at fifteen pence a day. . . .

It contained further the pay of sixteen thousand footmen, distributed into one hundred and sixty bands, each band having a Captain at four shillings a day, a Lieutenant at two shillings a day, an Ensign eighteen pence a day, two Sergeants, a Drum, and a Surgeon, each at twelve pence

a day, and ninety-four soldiers . . . at eight pence each by the day. . . .

Lastly it contained an extraordinary supply of six thousand pound to be allowed . . . for spies, guides, messengers, boat-hiring, keeping of prisoners, buildings, reparations, rewards, and like charges. . . .

36. SHAKESPEARE AS SEEN BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES [1600]

(a) *De Shakespear Nostrat.*

SOURCE: Ben Jonson, *Timber: or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter.* Ed. Gifford, 1816.

I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing, whatsoever he penned, he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, "Would he had blotted a thousand," which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this but for their ignorance, who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candour, for I loved the man, and do honour his memory on this side idolatry as much as any. He was indeed honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility that sometime it was necessary he should be stopped. "*Sufflaminandus erat,*" as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of it had been so too. Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter, or when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him: "Cæsar, thou dost me wrong." He replied, "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause"; and such like, which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.

(b) *On the Portrait of Shakespeare.* (Ben Jonson.)

This Figure, that thou here seest put,
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;
Wherein the Graver had a strife
with Nature, to out-doo the life:
O, could he but have drawne his wit
As well in brasse, as he hath hit
His face; the Print would then surpasse
All, that was ever writ in brasse:
But, since he cannot, Reader, looke
Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

(c) *On Shakespeare.*

SOURCE: Thomas Fuller, *The Worthies of England.*

He was an eminent instance of the truth of that rule, *Poeta non fit, sed nascitur:* "One is not made, but born a poet." Indeed his learning was very little, so that, as Cornish diamonds are not polished by any lapidary, but are pointed and smoothed even as they are taken out of the earth, so nature itself was all the art which was used upon him.

Many were the wit-combats betwixt him and Ben Jonson, which two I behold like a Spanish great gallion, and an English man-of-war: Master Jonson (like the former) was built far higher in learning; solid, but slow, in his performances. Shakespeare, with the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention.

37. LONDON SCHOOLS [1601]

SOURCE: Stow, *Survey of London.* Ed. Morley.

As divers schools, by suppressing of religious houses, whereof they were members, in the reign of Henry VIII., have been decayed, so again have some others been newly erected, and furnished for them; as namely *Paul's School,*

in place of an old ruined house, was built in most ample manner, and largely endowed, in the year 1512, by John Colet, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of Paul's, for 153 poor men's children. . . . Again in the year 1553, after the erection of *Christ's Hospital* in the late dissolved house of the Gray Friars, a great number of poor children being taken in, a school was ordained there at the citizens' charges.

Also in the year 1561, the *Merchant Taylors* of London founded one notable free grammar-school in the parish of St Laurence Poultney. . . .

As for the meeting of the schoolmasters on festival days, at festival churches, and the disputing of their scholars logically, etc., the same was long since discontinued; but the arguing of the schoolboys about the principles of grammar hath been continued even till our time; for I myself, in my youth, have yearly seen, on the eve of St Bartholomew the Apostle, the scholars of divers grammar-schools repair unto the churchyard of St Bartholomew, the priory in Smithfield, where upon a bank boarded about under a tree, some one scholar hath stepped up, and there both opposed and answered till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down; and then the overcomer taking the place, did like as the first; and in the end the best opposers and answerers had rewards, which I observed not but it made both good schoolmasters and also good scholars, diligently against such times to prepare themselves for the obtaining of this garland.

I remember there repaired to these exercises amongst others, the masters and scholars of the free schools of St Paul's in London, of St Peter's in Westminster, of St Thomas Acon's Hospital, and of St Anthony's Hospital; whereof the last named commonly presented the best scholars, and had the prize in those days.

This priory of St Bartholomew being surrendered to Henry VIII., those disputations . . . in that place surceased;

Mr. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES
COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.

LONDON
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623

William Shakespeare

The Globe Theatre

and were again, only for a year or twain, in the reign of Edward VI., revived in the cloister of Christ's Hospital, when the best scholars, then still of St Anthony's School, were rewarded with bows and arrows of silver, given to them by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith.

Nevertheless, however, the encouragement failed, the scholars of Paul's meeting with them of St Anthony's, would call them "*Anthony pigs*," and they again would call the other, "*Pigeons of Paul's*," because many pigeons were bred in St Paul's church, and St Anthony was always figured with a pig following him; and mindful of the former usage, did for a long season disorderly, in the open street, provoke one another with: "*Salve tu quoque, placet tibi mecum disputare?*" "*Placet.*" And so proceeding from this to questions in grammar, they usually fell from words to blows with their satchels full of books, many times in great heaps, that they troubled the streets and passengers; so that finally they were restrained, until the decay of St Anthony's school.

Out of this school have sprung divers famous persons, whereof although time hath buried the names of many, yet in mine own remembrance may be numbered these following:—

Sir Thomas More, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England; Dr Nicholas Heath, sometime Bishop of Rochester, after of Worcester, and lastly Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England; Doctor John Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, and after Archbishop of Canterbury.

[*Note.*—To these may be added Bishop Latimer. The site of St Anthony's School was on, or near, the spot where the Bank of England now stands.]

38. REGULATIONS REGARDING STAGE PLAYS [1600]

SOURCE: An Order of the Privy Council, 1600.

An order set down by the Lords and others of Her Majesty's Privy Council, the 22 of June, 1600 to restrain

the excessive number of play-houses and the immoderate use of stage plays in and about the city.

Whereas divers complaints have been heretofore made unto the Lords and others of Her Majesty's Council of the manifold abuses and disorders that have grown and do continue by occasion of many houses erected and employed in and about the city of London for common stage plays; and now very lately by reason of some complaint exhibited by sundry persons against the building of the like house in or near Golding Lane by one Edward Allen, a servant of the right honourable the Lord Admiral, the matter as well in generality touching all the said houses for stage plays and the use of playing as in particular concerning the said house now in hand to be built in or near Golding Lane hath been brought into question and consultation among their Lordships; forasmuch as it is manifestly known and granted that the multitude of the said houses and the misgovernment of them hath been made and is daily occasion of the idle, riotous and dissolute living of great numbers of people, who, leaving all such honest and painful course of life as they should follow, do meet and assemble there; and of many particular abuses and disorders that do thereupon ensue. And yet nevertheless it is considered that the use and exercise of such plays not being evil in itself may with a good order and moderation be suffered in a well governed estate, and that Her Majesty being pleased at some times to take delight and recreation in the sight and hearing of them, some order is fit to be taken for the allowance and maintenance, of such persons as are thought meetest in that kind, to yield Her Majesty recreation and delight. . . . The Lords and the rest of Her Majesty's Privy Council have ordered in manner of form as followeth.

First, that there shall be about the city two houses and no more allowed to serve for the use of the common stage

plays; of the which houses one shall be in Surrey, in that place which is commonly called the Bankside, or thereabouts, and the other in Middlesex. . . .

Secondly, forasmuch as these stage plays by the multitude of houses and company of players have been too frequent, not serving for recreation, but inviting and calling the people daily from their trade and work to misspend their time; it is likewise ordered that the two several companies of players, assigned unto the two houses allowed, may play each of them in their several house twice a week and no oftener; and especially that they shall refrain to play on the sabbath day, upon pain of imprisonment and further penalty; and that they shall forbear altogether in the time of Lent, and likewise at such time and times as any extraordinary sickness or infection of disease shall appear to be in or about the city.

Thirdly . . . it is ordered that several copies [of these orders] shall be sent to the Lord Mayor of London and to the Justices of the Peace of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and that letters should be written to them straightly charging them to see the execution of the same by committing to prison the owners of playhouses and players who shall disobey and resist these orders.

39. A TOUR THROUGH ENGLAND [1600]

SOURCE: Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*. Vol. III.

Only give me leave for the help of strangers to add this one thing, namely, how they being curious to search antiquities, and loth to omit the sight of things worthy of observation, may to this purpose best dispose their journeys, which all other men may fit to their ends and purposes. First let them pass out of Normandy to Rye, an English haven in Sussex, then let them visit such of the five Kentish ports as they please, let them see Canterbury, famous for

the seat of the metropolitian Archbishop; then the Castle of Queenborough, in the island of Sheppey, and the Royal Navy; then let them pass by Rochester (a Bishop's seat), the Royal palace at Greenwich, and Deptford, the Naval storehouse, and not far thence see the broken ribs of the ship wherein Sir Francis Drake compassed the world, and so let them come to London. When they have viewed the monuments of London and Westminster, and seen the King's Court, they may take a cursory journey to view such antiquities in Middlesex, Surrey, and Berkshire, as upon the reading of Camden they shall most desire to see, and especially all, or the chief palaces of the king. Again from London they may take a cursory journey to see the University of Oxford, and so by Worcester return to London. In their journey to the confines of England and Scotland, they may see the University of Cambridge, and view the most choice antiquities mentioned by Master Camden in Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland.

BOOK FOUR

1603–1688

READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

ENGLAND UNDER THE STUARTS

1. LETTERS PATENT FOR JOHN STOWE TO BEG [A.D. 1603]

SOURCE: Letter of King James I., reprinted in the Preface to Morley's Edition of Stow's *Survey of London*.

James, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all our well-beloved subjects, greeting.

"**Whereas** our loving subject, John Stowe (a very aged and worthy member of our City of London), this five and forty years hath to his great charge, and with neglect of his ordinary means of maintenance (for the general good, as well of posteritie as of the present age) compiled and published diverse necessary bookes and Chronicles; and **therefore We,** in recompense of these his painful labours, and for encouragement to the like, have in our royal inclination been pleased to grant our **Letters Patent** under our Great Seale of England, dated the eighth of March, 1603, thereby authorising him, the sayd John Stowe, and his deputies, to collect amongst our loving subjects theyr voluntary contribution and kinde gratuities, as by the sayd Letters Patent more at large may appeare. Now, seeing that our sayd Patents (being but one in themselves) cannot be shewed forth in diverse places or parishes at once (as the occasions of his speedy putting them in execution may require) we have

therefore thought expedient in this unusual manner to recommend his cause unto you, having already, in our own person, and of our speciall grace, begun the largesse for the example of others. Given at our palace at Westminster."

2. A PRINCELY ARCHBISHOP [1603]

SOURCE: Sir George Paule, *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, 1699.

He [Archbishop Whitgift] was indeed beloved of all sorts of people, yea even some of them who were the most fervent reprehenders themselves, as they have confessed since his death. And well worthy was he so to be, for that he carried a most mild and moderate hand over them. A more particular love also he deserved of many, for his affection unto liberal and ingenious Arts. . . . For, besides the pains which he took himself . . . many years with a number of worthy young gentlemen, in reading unto them thrice a day, he took into his House, besides his Chaplains, divers of quality to instruct them in the Mathematics, and other Lectures of sundry Arts and Languages; giving them good allowance, and Preferments otherwise, as occasion was offered. And besides the many poor Scholars, whom he kept in his House till he could provide for them, and prefer them (as he did sundry to good estates) he also maintained divers in the University at his own charge, and gave liberally to them and others of any towardliness, as he heard of their necessity, and wants.

He kept likewise for the exercise of Military Discipline, a good Armory, and a fair Stable of great Horses; insomuch as he was able to arm at all points both Horse and Foot, and divers times had One hundred Foot, and Fifty Horse of his own Servants mustered, and trained, for which purpose he entertained Captains. He had also skilful Riders, who taught them to manage their Horses, and instructed them in war-like Exercises, all whom he rewarded in liberal

manner. By this means he had divers of his own Gentlemen that afterwards proved good Soldiers; many whereof became Captains and Commanders, and some for their Valour and Service were Knighted in the Field. There were also divers others, that for Learning, Language, and Qualities, were fit to be employed by any Prince in Christendom. . . .

He had a desire always to keep a great and bountiful House; and so he did, having the same well ordered and governed by his head Officers therein, and all things in plentiful manner, both for his own service and entertainment of Strangers, according to their several Qualities and Degrees. He often feasted the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry of his Diocese and Neighbourhood. And at *Christmas*, especially, his gates were always open, and his Hall set twice or thrice over with Strangers. . . .

Every Year he entertained the Queen at one of his Houses, so long as he was Archbishop; and some Years twice or thrice; where all things were performed in so seemly an order, that she went thence exceedingly well pleased. And besides many publick and gracious Favours done unto him, she would salute him, and bid him farewell by the name of *Black Husband;* calling also his Men her Servants, as a token of her good contentment with their attendance and pains.

Every third Year he went into *Kent* (unless great occasion hindered him) where he was so honourably attended upon by his own Train (consisting of Two hundred Persons) and with the Gentlemen of the Country, that he did sometimes ride into the City of *Canterbury*, and into other Towns, with eight hundred or a Thousand Horse. . . .

At his first Journey into *Kent* he rode to *Dover*, being attended with an hundred of his own servants, at least, in Livery, whereof there were forty Gentlemen in Chains of Gold. The Train of Clergy and Gentlemen in the Country, and their Followers, was above Five hundred Horse. At

his entrance into the Town, there happily landed an Intelligencer from *Rome*, of good parts, and Account, who wondered to see an Archbishop, or Clergyman in *England*, so reverenced, and attended: But seeing him upon the next Sabbath day after in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, attended upon by his gentlemen and servants (as is aforesaid); also by the Dean, Prebendaries, and Preachers in their Surplesses and scarlet Hoods, and heard the solemn Musick, with the Voices, and Organs, Cornets, and Sagbuts, he was overtaken with admiration, and told an *English* Gentleman of very good quality (who then accompanied him) *That they were led in great blindness at* Rome *by our own Nation, who made the People there believe, that there was not in* England, *either Archbishop, or Bishop, or Cathedral, or any Church or Ecclesiastical Government; but that all was pulled down to the ground, and the People heard their Ministers in Woods, and Fields, amongst Trees, and bruit beasts. But, for his own part, he protested, that (unless it were in the Pope's Chappel) he never saw a more solemn sight, or heard a more heavenly sound.*

3. THE MILLENARY PETITION[1] [1603]

SOURCE: The Manifesto presented by the Puritans to James I. Fuller, *Church History of Britain.*

1. *In the church service.*—"That the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, confirmation, as superfluous may be taken away. Baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained. The cap and surplice not urged. That examination may go before the communion; that it be ministered with a sermon. That divers terms of priests, and absolution, and some other used, with the ring in

[1] So called because there were nearly 1000 signatures of clergymen attached to it: the exact number was 800.

marriage, and other such-like in the book, may be corrected. The longsomeness of service abridged. Church songs and music moderated to better edification. That the Lord's day be not profaned. The rest upon holy days not so strictly urged. That there may be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed. No popish opinion to be any more taught or defended. No ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus. That the canonical scriptures only be read in the church."

2. *Concerning church ministers.*—"That none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently, and especially upon the Lord's day. That such as be already entered, and cannot preach, may either be removed, and some charitable course taken with them for their relief; or else to be forced, according to the value of their livings, to maintain preachers. That non-residency be not permitted. That king Edward's statute, for the lawfulness of ministers' marriage, be revived. . . ."

3. *For church livings and maintenance.*—". . . That double-beneficed men be not suffered to hold, some two, some three benefices with cure; and some two, three, or four dignities besides. That impropriations, annexed to bishoprics and colleges, be demised only to the preachers' incumbents for the old rent. That the impropriations of laymen's fee may be charged with a sixth or seventh part of the worth, to the maintenance of the preaching minister."

4. *For church discipline.*—"That . . . excommunication come not forth under the name of lay persons, chancellors, officials, etc. That men be not excommunicated for trifles and twelve-penny matters. That none be excommunicated without consent of his pastor. That the officers be not suffered to extort unreasonable fees. . . . That licenses for marriage, without banns asked, be more cautiously granted."

4. A STATE FESTIVAL AND PAGEANT [1606]

SOURCE: A letter written by Sir John Harington (Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, Vol. II.).

One day a great feast was held, and after dinner the representation of Solomon his temple and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was made, or (as I may better say) was meant to have been made, before their majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others. But alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment thereof. The lady who did play the queen's part did carry most precious gifts to both their majesties, but, forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her casket into his Danish majesty's lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His majesty then got up and would dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down, and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber, and laid on a bed of state, which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen, which had been bestowed on his garments; such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear in rich dress Hope, Faith and Charity: Hope did assay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the king would excuse her brevity: Faith was then all alone, for I am certain she was not joined with Good Works, and left the court in a staggering condition: Charity came to the king's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed; in some sort she made obeisance, and brought gifts, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which Heaven had not already given his majesty. She then returned to Hope and Faith, who were

both sick . . in the lower hall. Next came Victory in bright armour . . and by a strange medley of versification did endeavour to make suit to the king. But Victory did not triumph long; for, after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the ante-chamber. Now did Peace make entry, and strive to get foremost to the king: but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants, and, much contrary to her semblance, most rudely made war with her olive-branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming.

5. "MY LORD OF MISRULE" [1606]

SOURCE: Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses.* Spelling modernised.

First, all the wild heads of the parish, conventing together, choose them a grand captain (of mischief), whom they ennoble with the title of my Lord of Misrule, and him they crown with great solemnity, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chooseth forth twenty, forty, threescore, or a hundred lusty-guts like to himself, to wait upon his lordly majesty, and to guard his noble person. Then, every one of these his men he investeth with his liveries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour. And, as though that were not gaudy enough, they bedeck themselves with scarfs, ribbons, and laces, hanged all over with gold rings, precious stones, and other jewels; this done, they tie about either leg twenty or forty bells, with rich handkerchiefs in their hands, and sometimes laid across over their shoulders and necks, borrowed, for the most part, of their pretty Mopsies and loving Bessies, for bussing them in the dark. Thus, all things set in order, then have they their hobby-horses, dragons, and other antics, together with their pipers and thundering drummers, to strike up the devil's dance withal. Then march these heathen company

towards the church and church-yard, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering, their stumps dancing, their bells jingling, their handkerchiefs swinging about their heads like madmen, their hobby-horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng; and in this sort they go to the church (though the minister be at prayer or preaching), dancing and swinging their handkerchiefs over their heads in the church like devils incarnate, with such a confused noise that no man can hear his own voice. Then the foolish people, they look, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, and mount upon forms and pews to see these goodly pageants solemnized in this sort. Then, after this, about the church they go again and again, and so forth into the church-yard, where they have commonly their summer halls, their bowers, arbours, and banqueting-houses set up, wherein they feast, banquet and dance all that day, and peradventure all that night too. And thus these terrestrial furies spend the Sabbath-day. Then, for the further ennobling of this honourable lurdan (lord, I should say), they have also certain papers, wherein is painted some babblery, or other of imagery work, and these they call my Lord of Misrule's badges; these they give to every one that will give money for them, to maintain them in this their heathenry, devilry, drunkenness, pride and what not. And who will not show himself buxom to them, and give them money for these the devil's cognizances, they shall be mocked and flouted at shamefully; yea, and many times carried upon a coulstaff, and dived over head and ears in water, or otherwise most horribly abused. . . . Another sort of fantastical fools bring to these hell-hounds (the Lord of Misrule and his complices), some bread, some good ale, some new cheese, some cakes, some flauns, some tarts, some cream, some meat, some one thing, some another.

6. A FRANKLIN [1610]

SOURCE: Sir Thomas Overbury, *Characters*. Rimbault's edition, 1856. Spelling modernised.

His outside is an ancient yeoman of England, though is inside may give arms with the best gentlemen and ne'er see the herald. There is no truer servant in the house than himself. Though he be master, he says not to his servants, Go to field, but Let us go; and with his own eye doth both fatten his flock, and set forward all manner of husbandry. He is taught by nature to be contented with a little; his own fold yields him both food and raiment; he is pleased with any nourishment God sends, whilst curious gluttony ransacks, as it were, Noah's Ark for food, only to feed the riot of one meal. He is never known to go to law; understanding to be law-bound among men, is like to be hide-bound among his beasts; they thrive not under it; and that such men sleep as unquietly, as if their pillows were stuffed with lawyers' penknives. When he builds, no poor tenant's cottage hinders his prospect; they are, indeed, his almshouses, though there be painted on them no such superscription. He never sits up late, but when he hunts the badger, the vowed foe of his lambs; nor uses he any cruelty but when he hunts the hare; nor subtlety but when he setteth snares for the snipe, or pitfalls for the blackbird; nor oppression, but when in the month of July he goes to the next river and shears his sheep. He allows of honest pastime, and thinks not the bones of the dead anything bruised, or the worse for it, though the country lasses dance in the churchyard after even-song. Rock-Monday, and the wake in summer, shrovings, the wakeful catches on Christmas-eve, the hoky or seed-cake, these he yearly keeps, yet holds them no relics of popery. He is not so inquisitive after news derived from the privy closet, when the finding an eyry of hawks in his own ground, or the foaling of a colt come of a

good strain, are tidings more pleasant, more profitable. He is lord paramount within himself, though he hold by never so mean a tenure; and dies the more contentedly, though he leave his heir young, in regard he leaves him not liable to a covetous guardian. Lastly to end him; he cares not when his end comes, he needs not fear his audit, for his *quietus* is in heaven.

7. THE DEDICATION OF THE AUTHORISED TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE [1611]

TO

THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE

JAMES,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD,

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND,

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

The Translators of the Bible wish Grace, Mercy, and Peace, through JESUS CHRIST our Lord.

Great and manifold were the blessings, most dread Sovereign, which Almighty God, the Father of all mercies, bestowed upon us the people of *England*, when first he sent Your Majesty's Royal Person to rule and reign over us. For whereas it was the expectation of many, who wished not well unto our *Sion*, that upon the setting of that bright *Occidental Star*, Queen *Elizabeth* of most happy memory, some thick and palpable clouds of darkness would so have overshadowed this Land, that men should have been in doubt which way they were to walk; and that it should hardly be known, who was to direct the unsettled State; the appearance of Your Majesty, as of the *Sun* in his strength,

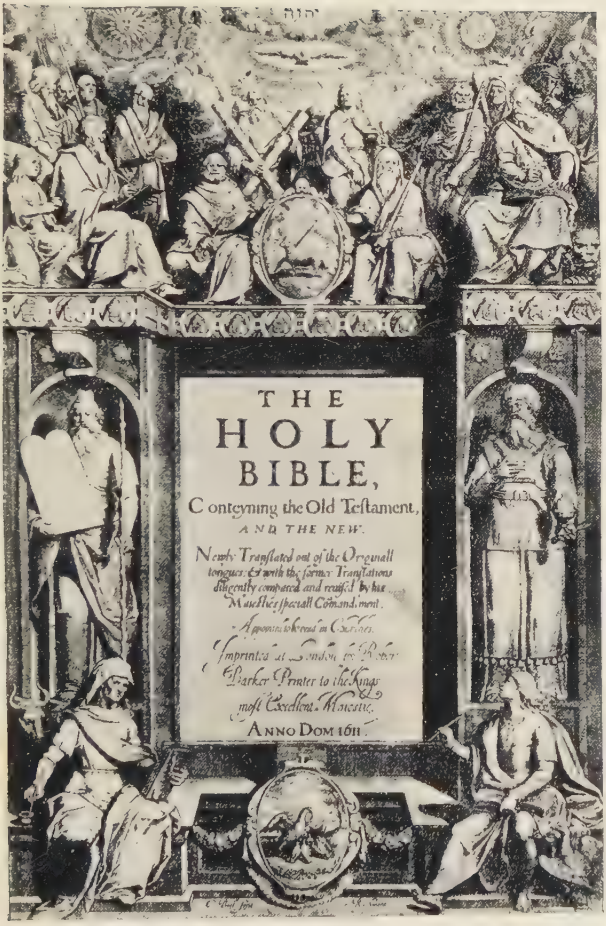
instantly dispelled those supposed and surmised mists, and gave unto all that were well affected exceeding cause of comfort; especially when we beheld the Government established in Your Highness, and Your hopeful seed, by an undoubted Title, and this also accompanied with peace and tranquillity at home and abroad.

But amongst all our joys, there was no one that more filled our hearts, than the blessed continuance of the preaching of God's sacred Word amongst us; which is that inestimable treasure, which excelleth all the riches of the earth; because the fruit thereof extendeth itself, not only to the time spent in this transitory world, but directeth and disposeth men unto that eternal happiness which is above in Heaven.

Then not to suffer this to fall to the ground, but rather to take it up, and to continue it in that state, wherein the famous Predecessor of Your Highness did leave it: nay, to go forward with the confidence and resolution of a Man in maintaining the truth of Christ, and propagating it far and near, is that which hath so bound and firmly knit the hearts of all Your Majesty's loyal and religious people unto You, that Your very name is precious among them: their eye doth behold You with comfort, and they bless You in their hearts, as that sanctified Person, who, under God, is the immediate Author of their true happiness. And this their contentment doth not diminish or decay, but every day increaseth and taketh strength, when they observe, that the zeal of Your Majesty towards the house of God doth not slack or go backward, but is more and more kindled, manifesting itself abroad in the furthest parts of *Christendom*, by writing in defence of the Truth (which hath given such a blow unto that man of sin, as will not be healed,) and every day at home, by religious and learned discourse, by frequenting the house of God, by hearing the Word preached, by cherishing the Teachers thereof, by caring for the Church, as a most tender and loving nursing Father.

There are infinite arguments of this right Christian and religious affection in Your Majesty; but none is more forcible to declare it to others than the vehement and perpetuated desire of the accomplishing and publishing of this work, which now with all humility we present unto Your Majesty. For when Your Highness had once out of deep judgment apprehended how convenient it was, that out of the Original Sacred Tongues, together with comparing of the labours, both in our own, and other foreign Languages, of many worthy men who went before us, there should be one more exact Translation of the Holy Scriptures into the *English Tongue*; Your Majesty did never desist to urge and to excite those to whom it was commended, that the work might be hastened, and that the business might be expedited in so decent a manner, as a matter of such importance might justly require.

And now at last, by the mercy of God, and the continuance of our labours, it being brought unto such a conclusion, as that we have great hopes that the Church of *England* shall reap good fruit thereby; we hold it our duty to offer it to Your Majesty, not only as to our King and Sovereign, but as to the principal Mover and Author of the work: humbly craving of Your most Sacred Majesty, that since things of this quality have ever been subject to the censures of ill-meaning and discontented persons, it may receive approbation and patronage from so learned and judicious a Prince as Your Highness is, whose allowance and acceptance of our labours shall more honour and encourage us, than all the calumniations and hard interpretations of other men shall dismay us. So that if, on the one side, we shall be traduced by Popish Persons at home or abroad, who therefore will malign us, because we are poor instruments to make God's holy Truth to be yet more and more known unto the people, whom they desire still to keep in ignorance and darkness: or if, on the other side, we shall be maligned by selfconceited



Title-page of the Authorised Version, 1611

The Reindeer Inn, Banbury

Brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing, but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil; we may rest secure, supported within by the truth and innocency of a good conscience, having walked the ways of simplicity and integrity, as before the Lord; and sustained without by the powerful protection of Your Majesty's grace and favour, which will ever give countenance to honest and Christian endeavours against bitter censures and uncharitable imputations.

The Lord of heaven and earth bless Your Majesty with many and happy days, that, as his heavenly hand hath enriched Your Highness with many singular and extraordinary graces, so You may be the wonder of the world in this latter age for happiness and true felicity, to the honour of that great GOD, and the good of his Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour.

8. ENGLISH INNS [1617]

SOURCE: Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*. Spelling modernised.

The world affords not such inns as England hath, either for good and cheap entertainment after the guests' own pleasure, or for humble attendance on passengers, yea, even in very poor villages. . . . For as soon as a passenger comes to an inn, the servants run to him, and one takes his horse, and walks him till he be cold, then rubs him, and gives him meat, yet I must say that they are not much to be trusted in this last point, without the eye of the master or his servant to oversee them. Another servant gives the passenger his private chamber, and kindles his fire, the third pulls off his boots, and makes them clean. Then the host or hostess visits him, and if he will eat with the host, or at a common table with others, his meal will cost him sixpence, or in some places but fourpence, (yet this course is less honourable,

and not used by gentlemen); but if he will eat in his chamber, he commands what meat he will according to his appetite, and as much as he thinks fit for him and his company, yea, the kitchen is open to him, to command the meat to be dressed as he best likes; and when he sits at table, the host or hostess will accompany him, or if they have many guests, will at least visit him, taking it for courtesy to be bid sit down: while he eats, if he have company especially, he shall be offered music, which he may freely take or refuse, and if he be solitary, the musicians will give him the good day with music in the morning. It is the custom and no way disgraceful, to set up part of supper for his breakfast. In the evening or in the morning after breakfast, (for the common sort use not to dine, but ride from breakfast to supper time, yet coming early to the inn for better resting of their horses), he shall have a reckoning in writing, and if it seem unreasonable, the host will satisfy him, either for the due price, or by abating part, especially if the servant deceive him any way, which one of experience will soon find. . . . If gentlemen will in such sort join together, to eat at one table, the expenses will be much diminished. Lastly, a man cannot more freely command at home in his own house, than he may do in his inn, and at parting if he give some few pence to the chamberlain and ostler, they wish him a happy journey.

9. A COUNTERBLAST TO TOBACCO [1604]

SOURCE: James I., *A Counterblast to Tobacco*. Ed. Arber, 1869. Spelling modernised.

Now how you are by this custom disabled in your goods, let the gentry of this land bear witness, some of them bestowing three, some four hundred pounds a year upon this precious stink, which I am sure might be bestowed upon many far better uses. I read indeed of a knavish courtier, who for

abusing the favour of the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, his master, by taking bribes to intercede for sundry persons in his master's ear (for whom he never once opened his mouth), was justly choked with smoke, with this doom *Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit*: but of so many smoke-buyers, as are at this present in this kingdom, I never read nor heard.

And for the vanities committed in this filthy custom, is it not both great vanity and uncleanness, that at the table, a place of respect, of cleanliness, of modesty, men should not be ashamed to sit tossing of tobacco pipes . . . making the filthy smoke and stink thereof to exhale athwart the dishes, and infect the air, when very often men that abhor it are at their repast? Surely smoke becomes a kitchen far better than a dining chamber, and yet it makes a kitchen also oftentimes in the inward parts of men, soiling and infecting them, with an unctuous and oily kind of soot, as hath been found in some great tobacco takers, that after their death were opened. And not only meat time, but no other time nor action is exempted from the public use of this uncivil trick: so as if the wives of Dieppe list to contest with this nation for good manners, their worst manners would in all reason be found at least not so dishonest (as ours are) in this point. The public use whereof, at all times and in all places hath now so far prevailed, as divers men very sound both in judgment and complexion, have been at last forced to take it also without desire, partly because they were ashamed to seem singular (like the two philosophers that were forced to duck themselves in that rain water, and so became fools as well as the rest of the people) and partly, to be as one that was content to eat garlic (which he did not love) that he might not be troubled with the smell of it in the breath of his fellows. And is it not a great vanity, that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, but straight they must be in hand with tobacco? No, it is become in place of a cure a point of good fellowship, and he

that will refuse to take a pipe of tobacco among his fellows (though by his own election he would rather feel the savour of a sink), is accounted peevish and no good company, even as they do with tippling in the cold eastern countries. Yea the mistress cannot in a more mannerly kind entertain her servant, than by giving him out of her fair hand a pipe of tobacco. But herein is not only a great vanity, but a great contempt of God's good gifts, that the sweetness of man's breath, being a good gift of God, should be wilfully corrupted by this stinking smoke, wherein I must confess, it hath too strong a virtue: and so that which is an ornament of nature, and can neither by any artifice be at the first acquired, nor once lost, be recovered again, shall be filthily corrupted with an incurable stink, which vile quality is as directly contrary to that wrong opinion which is holden of the wholesomeness thereof, as the venom of putrefaction is contrary to the virtue of preservation.

Moreover, which is a great iniquity and against all humanity, the husband shall not be ashamed to reduce thereby his delicate, wholesome, and clean complexioned wife to that extremity, that either she must also corrupt her sweet breath therewith, or else resolve to live in a perpetual stinking torment.

Have you not reason then to be ashamed, and to forbear this filthy novelty, so basely grounded, so foolishly received and so grossly mistaken in the right use thereof? In your abuse thereof sinning against God, harming yourselves both in persons and goods, and raking also thereby the marks and notes of vanity upon you: by the custom thereof making yourselves to be wondered at by all foreign civil nations, and by all strangers that come among you, to be scorned and contemned. A custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.

10. A SOCIETY LADY'S REQUIREMENTS [1616]

SOURCE: A letter written by Lady Compton to her husband, afterwards Earl of Northampton. (Quoted in Macfarlane and Thomson's *Comprehensive History.*)

MY SWEET LIFE,—

Now I have declared to you my mind for the settling of *your* state, I suppose that it were best for me to bethink and consider within myself what allowance were meetest for *me*. I pray and beseech you to grant to me your most kind and loving wife, the sum of £2600 quarterly to be paid. Also, I would, besides that allowance, have £600, quarterly to be paid, for the performance of charitable works; and those things I would not, neither will be, accountable for. Also, I will have three horses for my own saddle, that none shall dare to lend or borrow: none lend but I, none borrow but you. Also, I would have two gentlemen, lest one should be sick, or have some other let; also, believe it, it is an undecent thing for a gentlewoman to stand mumping alone, when God hath blessed their lord and lady with a great estate. Also, when I ride a-hunting or a-hawking, or travel from one house to another, I will have them attending; so for either of these said women, I must and will have for either of them a horse. Also, I will have six or eight gentlemen; and I will have my two coaches, one lined with velvet to myself, with four very fair horses: and a coach for my women, lined with cloth, and laced with gold, otherwise with scarlet, and laced with silver, with four good horses. Also I will have two coachmen, one for my own coach, the other for my women. Also, at any time when I travel, I will be allowed not only caroches and spare horses for me and my women, but I will have such carriages as shall be fitting for all; orderly, not pestering my things with my women's, nor theirs with either chamber-maids, nor theirs with wash-maids. Also, for laundresses, when I

travel, I will have them sent away before with the carriages, to see all safe. And the chambermaids I will have go before, that the chamber may be ready, sweet and clean. Also, for that it is undecent to crowd up myself with my gentleman usher in my coach, I will have him to have a convenient horse, to attend me, either in city or country. And I must have two footmen. And my desire is that you defray all the charges for me. And for myself, besides my yearly allowance, I would have twenty gowns of apparel, six of them excellent good ones, eight of them for the country, and six other of them very excellent good ones. Also I would have to put in my purse £2000 and £200, and so you to pay my debts. Also I would have £6000 to buy me jewels, and £4000 to buy me a pearl chain. Now seeing I have been, and am, so reasonable unto you, I pray you do find my children apparel and their schooling, and all my servants, men and women, their wages. Also, I will have all my houses furnished, and my lodging-chambers to be suited with all such furniture as is fit, as beds, stools, chairs, suitable cushions, and all things thereunto belonging. Also, my desire is that you would pay your debts, build up Ashley House, and purchase lands; and lend no money, as you love God, to my lord-chamberlain, who would have all, perhaps your life from you. . . . So, now that I have declared to you what I would have, and what it is that I would not have, I pray you, when you be an earl, to allow me £2000 more than I now desire, and double attendance.

11. THE BOOK OF SPORTS [1618]

SOURCE: *The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects concerning Lawful Sports to be used.*

. . . Whereas we did justly, in our progress through Lancashire, rebuke some Puritans and precise people, and took order, that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and

unlawful punishing of our good people, for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises, upon Sundays and other holidays, after the afternoon sermon or service; we now find, that two sorts of people, wherewith that country is much infected (we mean Papists and Puritans) have maliciously traduced and calumniated those our just and honourable proceedings: and therefore lest our reputation might, upon the one side (though innocently), have some aspersion laid upon it; and upon the other part, our good people in that country be misled, by the mistaking and misinterpretation of our meaning: we have therefore thought good, hereby to clear and make our pleasure to be manifested to all our good people in those parts.

It is true that at our first entry to this crown and kingdom, we were informed (and that too truly) that our county of Lancashire abounded more in Popish recusants, than any county of England, and thus hath still continued since, to our great regret, with little amendment; save that now of late, in our last riding through our said county, we find, both by the report of the judges, and of the bishop of that diocese, that there is some amendment now daily beginning; which is no small contentment to us.

The report of this growing amendment amongst them made us the more sorry, when, with our own ears, we heard the general complaint of our people, "That they were barred from all lawful recreation and exercise upon the Sunday's afternoon, after the ending of all divine service." . .

Our pleasure is, that after the end of divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged, from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vantling, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitson Ales, and Morris dances; and the setting up of Maypoles, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of

divine service; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church, for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But, withal, we do here account still as prohibited, all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only; as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and at all times, (in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited) bowling.

. . . And we likewise straitly command, that every person shall resort to his own parish-church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service; prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried, or used in the said times of recreations.

12. SOME ENGLISH CUSTOMS [1619]

SOURCE: Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*. Unpublished chapters contained in *Shakespeare's Europe*, 1903.

Touching customs, England keeps the old calender, begins the day at midnight, and the year upon the 25th of March. . . . Strangers blame two customs of the English: first, that a man telling of a tale or speaking to others at table, if any of them drink, will be silent till they have drunk, which may be good manners if the speech demand or require present answer, but otherwise is needless . . . secondly that we put off hats too often at table with offence of shedding loose hairs and the like, and too little at other meetings as at ordinaries, where some, as in a place of equal expense, will enter without salutation, and generally think it needless towards familiar friends, and base towards unknown men.

England excels all other countries in the goodness and number of ambling nags and geldings, and no other nation hath so many and easy pads to ride upon, nor in any measure chairs and stools so frequently bombasted and richly adorned. But strangers seeing most of our gentlemen ride upon hard northern saddles, wonder they should use them abroad, who desire to sit so soft at home.

The custom for each parish to keep a register of all

children christened, whereby any man may prove his age (being a thing important for many cases of law and otherwise) was first begun in England in the time of Henry the Eighth. . . .

England hath three very old and very laudable customs, used in no other kingdom that I know. First for children at morning and evening to ask their parents' blessing, and extraordinarily their godfathers' when they meet them. Secondly that all malefactors are followed from village to village by public officers with hue and cry. Thirdly that when any man is at the point of death, a great bell is tolled, to warn all men to pray for him while he yet liveth, and when the party is dead, by a number of several strokes at the bell, notice is given whether the party dead be a man, woman, or child, and then the bell is rung out. As likewise at the burial all the bells of the church for some hours are rung out.

Touching bells, England hath many singularities, as in the general greatness of them, some one (as that of Lincoln Minster) requiring the help of many men to toll it, and some dozen or twenty men to ring it out. Also in the incredible number of them. . . .

Besides that most churches have each of them three, five, or seven bells of differing bigness, which men commonly ring out in musical tunes for recreation, which I never observed to be done in any other country. . . .

13. A RECIPE FOR HERRING PIE [1620]

SOURCE: A seventeenth-century Cookery Book, quoted in Macfarlane and Thomson, *Comprehensive History of England.*

Take salt herrings, being watered; wash them between your hands, and you shall loose the fish from the skin; take off the skin whole, and lay them in a dish; then have a pound of almond-paste ready; mince the herrings and stamp them with the almond-paste, two of the milts or roes, five or six dates, some grated manchet, sugar, sack,

rose-water and saffron; make the composition somewhat stiff, and fill the skins; put butter in the bottom of your pie, lay on the herring, and on them dates, gooseberries, currants, barberries, and butter; close it up, and bake it; being baked, liquor it with butter, verjuice, and sugar.

14. PAUL'S WALK [1628]

[The middle aisle of St Paul's Cathedral was the meeting place and resort of all classes of London society in the early part of the seventeenth century.]

(a) *Its Character*

SOURCE: Earle's *Microcosmographie.* Spelling modernised.

Is the land's Epitome, or you may call it the lesser isle of Great Britain. It is more than this—the whole world's map, which you may here discern in its perfectest motion, jostling and turning. It is a heap of stones and men, with a vast confusion of languages; and were the steeple not sanctified, nothing liker Babel. The noise in it is like that of bees—a strange humming or buzz, mixed of walking, tongues and feet. It is a kind of still roar or loud whisper. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever but is here stirring and afoot. It is the synod of all pates politic, jointed and laid together in most serious posture; and they are not half so busy at the Parliament. It is the antic [1] of tails to tails, and backs to backs, and for vizards you need go no further than faces. It is the market of young lecturers, whom you may cheapen here at all rates and sizes. It is the general mint of all famous lies, which are here, like the legends of Popery, first coined and stamped in the church. All inventions are emptied here, and not few pockets. The best sign of a temple in it is that it is the thieves' sanctuary, which rob more safely in the crowd than a wilderness, whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them. . . . The visitants are all men without excep-

[1] Grotesque exhibition.

Morris Dancers in the time of James I

The Nave of Old St Paul's

tions; but the principal inhabitants and possessors are state knights and captains out of service—men of long rapiers and breeches—which after all turn merchants here and traffic for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner, and travel for a stomach; but thriftier men make it their Ordinary, and board here very cheap. Of all such places it is least haunted with hobgoblins, for if a ghost would walk more he could not."

(b) *How a Gallant should behave himself in Paul's Walk.*

SOURCE: Thomas Dekker's *The Gull's Hornbook.*

He that would strive to fashion his legs to his silk stockings, and his proud gait to his broad garters, let him whiff down these observations; for if he once get but to walk by the book, and I see no reason but he may, as well as fight by the book, Paul's may be proud of him; Will Clarke shall ring forth encomiums in his honour; John, in Paul's Churchyard, shall fit his head for an excellent block; whilst all the Inns of Court rejoice to behold his most handsome calf.

Your Mediterranean aisle is then the only gallery, wherein the pictures of all your true fashionate and complemental Gulls are, and ought to be hung up. Into that gallery carry your neat body; but take heed you pick out such an hour when the main shoal of islanders are swimming up and down. And first observe your doors of entrance and your exit; not much unlike the players at the theatres; keeping your decorums even in fantasticality. As for example, if you prove to be a northern gentleman, I would wish you to pass through the north door, more often especially than any of the other; and so, according to your countries, take note of your entrances.

Now for your venturing into the Walk. Be circumspect and wary what pillar you come in at; and take heed in any case, as you love the reputation of your honour, that you avoid the serving-man's log, and approach not within five

fathom of that pillar; but bend your course directly in the middle line, that the whole body of the church may appear to be yours; where, in view of all, you may publish your suit in what manner you affect most, either with the slide of your cloak from the one shoulder; and then you must, as 'twere in anger, suddenly snatch at the middle of the inside, if it be taffeta at the least; and so by that means your costly lining is betrayed, or else by the pretty advantage of compliment. But one note by the way do I especially woo you to, the neglect of which makes many of our gallants cheap and ordinary, that by no means you be seen above four turns; but in the fifth make yourself away, either in some of the sempsters' shops, the new tobacco office, or amongst the booksellers, where, if you cannot read, exercise your smoke, and inquire who has writ against this divine weed, etc. For this withdrawing yourself a little will much benefit your suit, which else, by too long walking, would be stale to the whole spectators: but howsoever, if Paul's jacks be once up with their elbows, and quarrelling to strike eleven; as soon as ever the clock has parted them and ended the fray with his hammer, let not the duke's gallery contain you any longer, but pass away apace in open view; in which departure, if by chance you either encounter, or aloof off-throw your inquisitive eye upon any knight or squire, being your familiar, salute him not by his name of *Sir such-a-one* or so; but call him *Ned* or *Jack*, etc. This will set off your estimation with great men; and if though there be a dozen companies between you, 'tis the better, he call aloud to you—for that's most genteel—to know where he shall find you at two o'clock; tell him at such an ordinary, or such; and be sure to name those that are dearest, and whither none but your gallants resort. After dinner you may appear again, having translated yourself out of your English cloth cloak into a light Turkey grogram, if you have that happiness of shifting; and then be seen, for a turn or two, to correct

your teeth with some quill or silver instrument, and to cleanse your gums with a wrought handkercher; it skills not whether you dined or no—that's best known to your stomach—or in what place you dined; though it were with cheese, of your own mother's making, in your chamber or study.

15. A CALM AND HAPPY ENGLAND [1630]

SOURCE: Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion.*

Now I must be so just as to say, that, during the whole time that these pressures were exercised, and those new and extraordinary ways were run, that is, from the dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth year [1629] to the beginning of this Parliament which was above 12 years, this kingdom and all his majesty's dominions . . . enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with; to the wonder and envy of all the parts of Christendom . . . Scotland . . in a full, entire, undisturbed peace, which they had never seen . . . in a competency, if not in an excess of plenty, which they had never hope to see, and in a temper (which was the utmost we desired and hoped to see) free from rebellion; Ireland, which had been a sponge to draw and a gulph to swallow all that could be spared, and all that could be got from England, merely to keep the reputation of a kingdom, reduced to that good degree of husbandry and government, that it not only subsisted of itself, and gave this kingdom all that it might have expected from it; but really increased the revenue of the crown forty or fifty thousand pounds a year, besides much more to the people in the traffick and trade from thence; arts and sciences fruitfully planted there; and the whole nation beginning to be so civilized, that it was a jewel of great lustre in the royal diadem.

When these outworks were thus fortified and adorned,

it was no wonder if England was generally thought secure, with the advantage of its own climate; the court in great plenty, or rather (which is the discredit of plenty) excess and luxury; the country rich, and, which is more, fully enjoying the pleasure of its own wealth, and so the easier corrupted with the pride and wantonness of it: the church flourishing with learned and extraordinary men, and . . . supplied with oil to feed those lamps, and the protestant religion more advanced against the Church of Rome by writing . . . than it had been from the Reformation; trade increased to that degree, that we were the exchange of Christendom, (the revenue thereof to the crown being almost double to what it had been in the best times) and the bullion of all other kingdoms was brought to receive a stamp from the mint of England; all foreign merchants looking upon nothing as their own, but what they had laid up in the warehouses of this kingdom; the royal navy, in number and equipage much above former times, very formidable at sea; and the reputation of the greatness and power of the king much more with foreign princes than any of his progenitors.

16. THE EDUCATION OF A PURITAN LADY [*circa* 1625]

SOURCE: *The Life of Mrs Hutchinson*, written by herself and included in the *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson.*

As soon as I was weaned a French woman was taken to be my dry-nurse, and I was taught to speak French and English together. . . . By that time I was four years old I read English perfectly, and having a great memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young could remember and repeat them exactly, and being caress'd, the love of praise tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing and needlework; but my genius was quite averse from all but my book, and that I was so

eager of, that my mother thinking it prejudiced my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather animated me than kept me back, and every moment I could steal from my play I would employ in any book I could find, when my own were locked up from me. After dinner and supper I still had an hour allow'd me to play, and then I would steal into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt that I outstripped my brothers who were at school, although my father's chaplain that was my tutor was a pitiful dull fellow. My brothers who had a great deal of wit had some emulation at the progress I made in my learning, which very well pleased my father, tho' my mother would have been contented [if] I had not so wholly addicted myself to that as to neglect my other qualities: as for music and dancing I profited very little in them, and would never practise my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle I absolutely hated it; play among other children I despis'd, and when I was forc'd to entertain such as came to visit me, I tir'd them with more grave instructions than their mothers, and plucked all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertain'd myself with elder company; to whom I was very acceptable, and living in the house with many persons that had a great deal of wit; and very profitable serious discourse being frequent at my father's table and in my mother's drawing-room. I was very attentive to all, and gather'd up things that I would utter again to great admiration of many that took my memory and imitation for wit. It pleased God that thro' the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinced that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myself to it, and to practise as I was taught: I used to exhort my mother's maids much, and to turn their idle discourse to good subjects; but I thought,

when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day perform'd my due tasks of reading and praying, that then I was free to anything that was not sin; for I was not at that time convinced of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked, I thought it no sin to learn or hear witty songs and amorous sonnets or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confidant in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young women, and there were none of them but had many lovers, and some particular friends beloved above the rest.

17. THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT [1629]

SOURCE: Privy Council Register, Charles I., Vol. V.

LETTER FROM PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN THE COUNTIES OF SUFFOLK AND ESSEX CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE POOR.

Whereas we by special directions of his Majesty did lately commend unto your care the present state of those parts of your county where the poor clothiers and their workmen at present destitute of work might some other way be employed, or for the time be relieved till some obstructions to trade were removed, as also to keep in order those that are loose and ill disposed people; to which end his Majesty, by advice of his Privy Council and Judges, hath lately published a proclamation declaring his pleasure and command in what manner the truly poor and impotent should be relieved, those of able bodies should be set on work and employed in honest labour, and the sturdy, idle and dangerous rogues and vagabonds should be reformed and punished, which proclamation you shall herewith likewise receive; now, because we understand that in your county there is more than ordinary occasion to use all diligence and industry

at this time, we have thought fit to put you more particularly in mind thereof, and in answer to your letters to let you know that it is the resolution of all the judges, that by the law you have sufficient powers and right to raise means out of the several parishes, if they be of ability, or otherwise in their defect, in their several hundreds, lathes or wapentakes, and for want of their ability (to set your poor on work and to relieve the aged and impotent not able to work) in the whole body of the county; wherefore his Majesty commands that the ways provided by law in these cases be duly followed with all diligence and possible speed. You are required to understand the true state of the county from the ministers, churchwardens and overseers of the several parishes within your several divisions. And what rests herein to be done by order at the quarter sessions, the judges advise that for this purpose you may call the quarter sessions sooner than the ordinary set times, and do that which in this case is so requisite.

Further, we let you know, that such hath been his Majesty's care and personal pains taken to remove these impediments that of late have been to trade, and to open a free vent to the commodities of your county, that yourselves will shortly see the fruits of it to your comforts; nevertheless in the meantime these things provided by the law; and the helps that by your care may be added, are in no sort to be neglected, but exactly pursued; of which your proceedings we are to be advertised that so we may render account thereof to his Majesty.

18. AMUSEMENTS

SOURCE: Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*. Unpublished chapters contained in *Shakespeare's Europe*.

It is a singularity in the nature of the English, that they are strangely addicted to all kinds of pleasure above all other nations. This of old was justly attributed to idleness,

when the multitude of monasteries and the great trains and large house-keeepings of lords and gentlemen were nurseries of thieves and idle persons, so as we were served for the most part by strangers in all manual trades. But since the putting down of monasteries and of those great trains and large house-keepings—howsoever I cannot deny that, out of this natural addiction to pleasure (or idleness if you will so call it) and out of natural boldness less to fear death than want, more persons are excuted in England for stealing and robberies by the highway, than in many vast kingdoms abroad—yet do not these offences so much abound as in those former times, and for manual trades, we are now almost altogether served by natives, who for necessity to eat their own bread, are in good measure grown industrious artisans. But for the point of pleasures, the English, from the lords to very husbandmen, have generally more fair and more large gardens and orchards than any other nation. All cities, towns, and villages swarm with companies of musicians and fiddlers, which are rare in other kingdoms. The city of London alone hath four or five companies of players with their peculiar theatres capable of many thousands, wherein they play every day in the week but Sunday, with most strange concourse of people, besides many strange toys and fancies exposed by signs to be seen in private houses, to which and to many musterings and other frequent spectacles, the people flock in great numbers. . . . As there be, in my opinion, more plays in London than in all the parts of the world I have seen, so do these players or comedians excel all other in the world. . . . Not to speak of frequent spectacles in London exhibited to the people by fencers, by walkers on ropes, and like men of activity, nor of frequent companies of archers shooting in all the fields, nor of Saints' days, which the people not keeping (at least most of them, or with any devotion) for church service, yet keep for recreation of walking and gaming.

What shall I say of dancing with curious and rural music, frequently used by the better sort, and upon all holidays, by country people dancing about the maypoles with bagpipes or other fiddlers, besides the jollities of certain seasons of the year, of setting up maypoles, dancing the Morris with hobby horses, bringing home the lady of the harvest, and like plebeian sports, in all which vanities no nation cometh anything near the English. What shall I say of playing at cards and dice, frequently used by all sorts, rather as a trade than as recreation, for which all strangers much blame us.

As the English are by nature amorous, so do they above other nations assert and follow the pleasant study of poetry, and therein have in good measure attained excellency.

To conclude with hawking and hunting. No nation so frequently useth these sports as the English. No nation of greater compass, alloweth such great proportions of lands for parks to impale fallow and red deer. And as England hath plenty of red deer, so I will boldly say that it, perhaps one shire of it, hath more fallow deer than all the continent of the world that I have seen. . . .

No nation followeth these pastimes and exercises on horseback and on foot, so frequently and painfully in any measure of comparison. England yields excellent sparrow hawks, and Ireland hawks of divers kinds; but especially goshawks, and gentlemen with great charge procure plenty of the best hawks from foreign parts.

Not only gentlemen, but yeomen frequently hunt the hare, not only with greyhounds, but hounds in keeping whereof for that purpose divers yeomen join together. . . .

And for all these sports and other uses, England hath without comparison greater number and better dogs than any other nation, as mastiffs for keeping the house, rough water dogs for the duck, greyhounds for the hare, divers kinds of hounds for all huntings and spaniels for hawking, and bloodhounds to track stolen deer or other things, and

little dogs for women's pleasure, and all these beautiful and good, and some most rare.

19. ENGLISH HOSPITALITY [1631]

(a) *Towards strangers*

SOURCE: As No. 18.

Strangers commonly arrive at Gravesend, inhabited by people who have been themselves in foreign parts, and are apt to use like extortions to them, as perhaps themselves have received abroad. And indeed generally that town gives such ill entertainment to the very English, as few men of the better sort will lodge there, but upon necessity. From thence strangers are directed to like hosts at London, where they may be ill used for expenses, and there perhaps are sometime annoyed by the insolency of the baser sort of apprentices, serving men, dray men and like people, which presuming upon their numbers do many like insolences to English gentlemen and ladies. Besides I cannot deny that the citizens of London and of less cities have had and may have a spleen against strangers for growing rich among them by traffic used to their prejudice. But if a stranger will choose an honest guide, and converse with the better sort, he shall find singular courtesy, out of natural disposition from lords, from the gentry, from all scholars, and not only verbal but real, in being made welcome to their houses and tables, bearing all respects to them rather above than under their degrees. For as the English, contrary to the custom of all nations, give the higher place and way to women though of lower degree than themselves, out of a noble mind to give honour and support to weakness, so give they like respect to strangers, especially to military men and doctors of liberal professions. . . .

And this all experienced strangers do confess, but they unthankfully misconceive the cause, attributing that excessive courtesy to the simplicity of the English, which truly

belongs to the nobility of their minds, as may appear by the foresaid respect to women, and especially that this courtesy towards strangers abounds most in the most noble and learned men, farthest from simplicity. Yet I confess that also very husbandmen and country people in England especially, within land (for they on the sea coasts have daily exasperations against strangers) . . . are naturally courteous and kind towards strangers especially when by their guide or their own language, they can make themselves in some weak measure understood whence and who they are.

(b) *Towards prisoners of war*

SOURCE: As No. 18.

Since the Saxons gave the name of England to this island, and since the Normans did conquer it, I did never read history, through the long and victorious wars they made in France and other kingdoms, which ever taxed them of cruelty, but rather record many examples wherein they used singular mercy and humanity towards the conquered, and all such as they took prisoners. Yea in our time, during the reign of Elizabeth, late Queen of famous memory, in her renowned victories, we remember and our enemies cannot but witness with us, singular mercy and humanity to have been used towards all captives and prisoners, more especially in the naval victory of the year 1588. And at the siege of Kinsale in Ireland, in both which it is notoriously known that singular mercy was used to all prisoners, and that many captives of the best sort lived in as good if not better condition than they did at home and gained by their captivity, being released without ransom or paying anything for their expenses, which burthen, besides the bounty of presents, they sustained to whom they were captives by the law of war.

20. TOUCHING RELIGION [1631]

SOURCE: As No. 18.

I will only add in general, that the English were always religiously affected, and while they were obedient to the Pope, yielded him in proportion more profit than any other kingdom. That they have built and founded more stately and rich monasteries, colleges, universities and cathedral churches, than any other nation, yea that the building of many common churches (particularly in Lincolnshire) cost more than all the houses of the town. And I may boldly say that England hath more bells and of greater price, than any three kingdoms, if not than all the world besides. To which give me leave to add the old and laudable custom of England, to toll a bell when any one lieth at the point of death, to remember all men to pray for him, as the proper time when prayers may avail him, namely while he yet liveth. To conclude . . . I think that nothing in our age hath more pinched the Papists than our gracious sovereign's wise invention of the Oath of Allegiance; for when they suffered for the Oath of Supremacy, they had pretence thereby, as for a point of religion, to be made martyrs. But howsoever the Pope hath made it an Article of Faith that he may depose kings and absolve subjects from the Oath of Allegiance, yet I think few learned and godly papists would be content to suffer for that new and strange Article of Faith.

21. A QUAKER'S ILL-TREATMENT [1640]

SOURCE: *Journal of George Fox.* Spelling modernised.

So of a sudden all the people in the steeplehouse was in an outrage and an uproar: that they fell upon me in the steeplehouse before his face: and knocked me down, and

kicked me, and trampled upon me before his face: and people tumbled over their seats for fear: and at last he came and took me from amongst the people again: and led me out of the steeplehouse, and put me into the hands of the constables and other officers' hands, and bid them whip me and put me out of the town, and then they led me about a quarter of a mile, some taking hold by my collar and some by the arms and shoulders, and shook and dragged me, and some got hedgestakes: and holme bushes and other staffs: and many friendly people that was come to the market: and some came into the steeplehouse to hear me: many of them they knocked down, and broke their heads also (and the blood ran down several people so as I never saw the like in my life: as I looked at them when they was dragging me along).

And Judge Fell's son running after to see what they would do with me: they threw him into a ditch of water, and cried, "Knock out the teeth of his head!"

And when they had led me to the common (moss), and a multitude of people following: there they fell upon me with their staffs and hedgestakes, and the constables and officers gave me some blows over my back with their willow rods, and so thrust me amongst the rude multitude: and they then fell upon me as aforesaid with their stakes and clubs, and beat me on my head and arms and shoulders, till they had mazed me, and at last I fell down upon the wet common: and when I recovered my self again and saw my self lying on a watery common, and all the people standing about me, I lay a little still, and the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the eternal refreshings refreshed me, that I stood up again in the eternal power of God, and stretched out my arms amongst them all, and said again with a loud voice: "Strike again! here is my arms, my head, and my cheeks!"

22. TRAVELLERS' TALES [1642]

SOURCE: James Howell's *Instructions for Foreign Travel.* Spelling modernised.

Others have a custom to be always relating strange things and wonders (of the humour of Sir John Mandeville) and they usually present them to the hearers through multiplying-glasses, and thereby cause the thing to appear far greater than it is in itself; they make mountains out of mole-hills, like Charenton Bridge Echo, which doubles the sound nine times. Such a traveller was he that reported the Indian fly to be as big as a fox: China birds to be as big as some horses, and their mice to be as big as monkeys; but they have the wit to fetch this far enough, because the hearer may rather believe it than make a voyage so far to disprove it.

Every one knows the tale of him who reported he had seen a cabbage, under whose leaves a regiment of soldiers were sheltered from a shower of rain. Another who was no traveller, yet the wiser man, said he had passed by a place where there were 400 brasiers making of a caldron—200 within, and 200 without, beating the nails in; the traveller asking for what use that huge cauldron was? he told him—"Sir, it was to boil your cabbage!"

Such another was the Spanish traveller, who was so habituated to hyperbolise and relate wonders, that he became ridiculous in all companies, so that he was forced at last to give order to his man, when he fell into any excess this way, and report anything improbable, he should pull him by the sleeve. The master falling into his wonted hyperboles, spoke of a church in China that was ten thousand yards long; his man, standing behind, and pulling him by the sleeve, made him stop suddenly. The company asking, "I pray, sir, how broad might that church be?" he replied: "But a yard broad; and you may thank my man for pulling me by the sleeve, else I had made it foursquare for you."

23. THE GOOD SCHOOLMASTER

SOURCE: Fuller, *The Holy State.*

There is scarce any profession in the commonwealth more necessary, which is so slightly performed. The reasons whereof I conceive to be these: first, young scholars make this calling their refuge; yea perchance, before they have taken any degree in the university, commence schoolmasters in the country, as if nothing else were required to set up this profession but only a rod and a ferula. Secondly, others who are able, use it only as a passage to better preferment, to patch the rents in their present fortune, till they can provide a new one, and betake themselves to some more gainful calling. Thirdly, they are disheartened from doing their best with the miserable reward which in some places they receive, being masters to the children, and slaves to their parents. Fourthly, being grown rich, they grow negligent, and scorn to touch the school but by the proxy of an usher. But see how well our schoolmaster behaves himself.

His genius inclines him with delight to his profession. Some men had as lieve be schoolboys as schoolmasters, to be tied to the school as Cooper's Dictionary and Scapula's Lexicon are chained to the desk therein; and though great scholars, and skilful in other arts are bunglers in this. But God, of his goodness, hath fitted several men for several callings, that the necessities of church and state, in all conditions, may be provided for. So that he who beholds the fabric thereof may say, God hewed out this stone, and appointed it to lie in this very place, for it would fit none other so well, and here it doth most excellent. And thus God mouldeth some for a schoolmaster's life, undertaking it with desire and delight, and discharging it with dexterity and happy success.

He studieth his scholars' natures as carefully as they their

books; and ranks their dispositions into several forms. And though it may seem difficult for him in a great school to descend to all particulars, yet experienced schoolmasters may quickly make a grammar of boys' natures and reduce them all—saving some few exceptions—to these general rules.

1. Those that are ingenious and industrious. The conjunction of two such planets in a youth presage much good unto him. To such a lad a frown may be a whipping and a whipping a death; yea where their master whips them once, shame whips them all the week after. Such natures he useth with all gentleness.

2. Those that are ingenious and idle. These think with the hare in the fable, that running with snails—so they count the rest of their schoolfellows—they shall come soon enough to the post, though sleeping a good while before their starting. Oh, a good rod would finely take them napping.

3. Those that are dull and diligent. Wines, the stronger they be, the more lees they have when new. Many boys are muddy-headed till they be clarified with age, and such afterwards prove the best. Bristol diamonds are both bright, and squared, and pointed by nature, and yet are soft and worthless; whereas orient ones in India are rough and rugged naturally. Hard, rugged and dull natures of youth, acquit themselves afterwards the jewels of the country, and therefore their dulness at first is to be borne with, if they be diligent. That schoolmaster deserves to be beaten himself who beats Nature in a boy for a fault. And I question whether all the whipping in the world can make their parts, which are naturally sluggish, rise one minute before the hour Nature hath appointed.

4. Those that are invincibly dull and negligent also. Correction may reform the latter, not amend the former. All the whetting in the world can never set a razor's edge on

that which hath no steel in it. Such boys he consigneth over to other professions. Shipwrights and boat-makers will choose those crooked pieces of timber which other carpenters refuse. Those may make excellent merchants and mechanics which will not serve for scholars.

He is able, diligent and methodical in his teaching; not leading them rather in a circle than forwards. He minces his precepts for children to swallow, hanging clogs on the nimbleness of his own soul, that his scholars may go along with him.

He is and will be known to be an absolute monarch in his school. If cockering mothers proffer him money to purchase their sons an exemption from his rod—to live, as it were, in a peculiar, out of their master's jurisdiction—with disdain he refuseth it, and scorns the late custom in some places of commuting whipping into money, and ransoming boys from the rod at a set price. If he hath a stubborn youth, correction-proof, he debaseth not his authority by contesting with him, but fairly, if he can, puts him away before his obstinancy hath infected others.

He is moderate in inflicting deserved correction. Many a schoolmaster better answereth the name *paidotribes* than *paidagogos*, rather tearing his scholars' flesh with whipping than giving them good education. No wonder if his scholars hate the Muses, being presented unto them in the shapes of fiends and furies. . . .

Such an Orbilius mars more scholars than he makes. Their tyranny hath caused many tongues to stammer which spake plain by nature, and whose stuttering at first was nothing else but fears quavering on their speech at their master's presence; and whose mauling them about the heads hath dulled those who in quickness exceeded their master.

He makes his school free to him who sues to him in formâ pauperis. And surely learning is the greatest alms that

can be given. But he is a beast who, because the poor scholar cannot pay him his wages, pays the scholar in his whipping; rather are diligent lads to be encouraged with all excitements to learning. This minds me of what I have heard concerning Mr Bust, the worthy late schoolmaster of Eton, who would never suffer any wandering begging scholar—such as justly the statute hath ranked in the fore front of rogues—to come into his school, but would thrust him out with earnestness—however privately charitable unto him—lest his schoolboys should be disheartened from their books, by seeing some scholars after their studying in the university preferr'd to beggery.

He spoils not a good school to make thereof a bad college, therein to teach his scholars Logic. For, besides that Logic may have an action of trespass against Grammar for encroaching on her liberties, Syllogisms are Solecisms taught in the school, and oftentimes they are forced afterwards in the university to unlearn the fumbling skill they had before.

Out of his school he is no way pedantical in carriage or discourse; contenting himself to be rich in Latin, though he doth not jingle with it in every company wherein he comes.

To conclude, let this, amongst other motives, make schoolmasters careful in their place—that the eminences of their scholars have commended the memories of their schoolmasters to posterity, who otherwise in obscurity had altogether been forgotten. Who had ever heard of R. Bond in Lancashire, but for the breeding of learned Ascham, his scholar? or of Hartgrave, in Brundly school, in the same county, but because he was the first did teach worthy Dr Whitaker? Nor do I honour the memory of Mulcaster for anything so much as his scholar, that gulf of learning, Bishop Andrews. This made the Athenians, the day before the great feast of Theseus, their founder, to sacrifice a ram to the memory of Conidas, his schoolmaster, that first instructed him.

24. THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN
[*circa* 1650]

SOURCE: *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, written by his widow, Lucy.

He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportioned shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hair of light brown, very thick set in his youth, softer than the finest silk, curling into loose great rings at the ends, his eyes of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions, his visage thin, his mouth well made, and his lips very ruddy and graceful, although the nether chap shut over the upper, yet it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming, his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory, his chin was something long, and the mould of his face; his forehead was not very high; his nose was raised and sharp; but withal he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and majesty mixed with sweetness, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feet excellently well made; he was quick in his pace and turns, nimble and active and graceful in all his motions; he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him; he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; he had skill in fencing, such as became a gentleman; he had a great love to music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he play'd masterly; he had an exact ear and judgment in other music; he shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise; he had great judgment in paintings, gravings, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds; he took great delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as

the merit of the work—he took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting groves, and walks, and fruit-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds: of country recreations he lov'd none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he us'd it, but soon left it of: he was wonderful neat, cleanly, and genteel in his habit, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of anything that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appear'd very much a gentleman; he had more address than force of body, yet the courage of his soul so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it: his conversation was very pleasant, for he was naturally cheerful, had a ready wit and apprehension: he was eager in everything he did, earnest in dispute, but withal very rational, so that he was seldom overcome: everything that it was necessary for him to do he did with delight, free and unconstrained: he hated ceremonious compliment, but yet had a natural civility and complaisance to all people, he was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spirit could undergo labours, watchings and journeys, as well as any of stronger compositions: he was rheumatic, and had a long sickness and distemper occasioned thereby two or three years after the war ended, but else for the latter half of his life, was healthy tho' tender: in his youth and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weakness and toothaches, but then his spirits carried him through them: he was very patient under sickness or pain or any common accidents, but yet upon occasions though never without just ones, he would be very angry, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be fear'd, yet he was never outrageous in passion: he had a very good faculty in persuading, and would speak very well, pertinently and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offer'd, for indeed his judgment was

so nice, that he could never frame any speech beforehand to please himself, but his invention was so ready and wisdom so habitual in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himself of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand, he was not talkative, yet free of discourse; of a very spare diet, not much given to sleep, an early riser when in health, he never was at any time idle, and hated to see anyone else so, in all his natural and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending to virtue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gather'd from a bare dead description; there was a life of spirit and power in him that is not to be found in any copy drawn from him: to sum up therefore all that can be said of his outward frame and disposition, we must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnished lodging prepar'd for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent virtues reigned there awhile, till he was called back to the palace of the universal emperor.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE

25. AN INTERVIEW WITH OLIVER CROMWELL [1654]

SOURCE: George Fox's *Journal*. Spelling modernised.

And so that night I was kept a prisoner at the Marshalsea; and the next morning by the sixth hour I was ready, and delivered to Captain Drury. And so I desired they would let me speak with Col. Hacker, and he had me to his bedside; and he was at me again to go home and keep no more meetings and I told him I could not submit to that. . . . Then he said, I must go before the Protector. So I kneeled on his Bedside and desired the Lord to forgive him. . . .

And so I was carried up by Captain Drury aforesaid from Leicester. . . . He brought me to London to the Mermaid over against the Mews at Charing Cross. And I was moved

of the Lord to warn people at the inns and places as I went of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them. . . .

And after a few days I was had before Oliver Cromwell by Captain Drury, and he brought me in before him before he was dressed. . . . When I came before him, I was moved to say "Peace be on this House," and I bid him keep in the fear of God that he might receive wisdom. . . . I spoke much to him of Truth, and he said we quarrelled with the priests, and I told him I did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled with me and my friends. And such teachers and prophets and shepherds that the Prophets, Christ and the Apostles declared against. . . .

And several times he said it was very good and truth, and I told him that all Christendom (so called) had the Scriptures, but they wanted the power and spirit that they had that gave them forth. . . . Many more words I had with him; and many people began to come in that I drew a little backward, and as I was turning, he catched me by the hand and said these words, with tears in his eyes: "Come again to my House, for if thou and I were but an hour in a day together, we should be nearer one to the other," and that he wished me no more ill than he did to his own soul. . . . And so I bid him hearken to God's voice . . . and if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened. And he said it was true. And so I went out.

26. MAY DAY REJOICING [1654]

SOURCE: *Moderate Intelligencer.* (Quoted in Macfarlane and Thomson.)

(*a*) *Hyde Park, May 1st,* 1654.—This day there was a hurling of a great ball by fifty Cornish gentlemen of one side, and fifty on the other; one party played in red caps, and the other in white. There was present his highness the lord-protector, many of his privy council, and divers eminent gentlemen, to whose view was presented great

agility of body, and most neat and exquisite wrestling, at every meeting of one with the other, which was ordered with such dexterity, that it was to show more the strength, vigour, and nimbleness of their bodies than to endanger their persons. The ball they played withal was silver, and designed for that party which did win the goal.

(*b*) *Monday, 1st May.*—This day was more observed by people going a-maying than for divers years past; and, indeed, much sin committed by wicked meetings with fiddlers, drunkenness, ribaldry, and the like; great resort came to Hyde Park, many hundreds of coaches, and gallants in atttire, but most shameful powdered-hair men, and painted and spotted women. Some men played with a silver ball, and some took other recreation. But his highness the lord-protector went not thither, nor any of the lords of the Commonwealth, but were busy about the great affairs of the Commonwealth.

27. CROMWELL AS A COACH DRIVER

SOURCE: Ludlow's *Memoirs*, 1698–9.

The Duke of Holstein made him a present of a set of gray Friesland coach-horses; with which taking the air in the Park, attended only with his secretary Thurlow, and a guard of Janizaries, he would needs take the place of the coachman, not doubting but the three pair of horses he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him; and therefore not contented with their ordinary pace, he lashed them very furiously. But they, unaccustomed to such a rough driver, ran away in a rage, and stopped not till they had thrown him out of the box, with which fall his pistol fired in his pocket, though without any hurt to himself: by which he might have been instructed how dangerous it was to meddle with those things wherein he had no experience.

28. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN USE IN 1656

SOURCE: *Commonplace Book of Sir Philip Leycester*, quoted in the Notes to Robert Laneham's letter. Ed. F. J. Furnivall. Ballad Society. 1890.

It will not be amisse here to insert the severall Kinds of Musicall Instruments now of most Vse in England, as they be now used, 1656. . . .

Of Single Wynd Instruments, the most excellent are the Cornet, the Shalme, and Sackbut.

The CORNET is about two foote in length; not so streight as the Shalme; but with a little bendinge or Incurvation; it is bored through & hath little holes at the side thereof, which beinge stopt with the fingers, gives the variety of Soundes; & yeildeth a shrill-quakinge-Sound, which is produced by the Art of the Mouth, as the Hunt's-man's Horne & Trumpet are caused by the blast of the mouth.

The SHALME is made of Wood & after the same manner of the Cornet, & about the same length, bored thorough also, with little holes at the side, to be stopt with the fingers, for distinction of Soundes. This is a streight Piece of Wood, & hath a Reede put into the Smaller end thereof (which is made artificially, & bound about the Lower end with a Thred) which with the blast of the mouth causeth a shrill Sound, & is done with lesse straininge than the Cornet, which hath no Reede, but the Sound thereof forced with the Mouth. The greater end of it is made in forme of a little Bell, like the end of a Trumpet.

The SACKBUT is made of Brasse or Alchimy[1] & gives distinction of Soundes, not by holes, as other Pipes, but by movinge the outward part of it higher or Lower; for there is a Devise vppon it, to be drawne vp & downe. The Sound of it is caused by the blast of the mouth; & it hath some resemblance to a Trumpet. This instrument giveth a Deepe Sound, & is to play the Basse-parte.

[1] Tin.

A Seventeenth Century Schoolroom

Stringed Instruments of the Seventeenth Century

1. *Viol.* 2. *Cithern.* 3. *Lute.*
4. *Viol da gamba.* 5. *Lute with additional harp-strings.*

There are also of an inferiour kind, as FLUITS, RECORDERS, BAG-PIPES—& these last both greater & lesse—so called because they have bags fastened to the Pipe, which, beinge stuft with the wind of the Mouth, causeth the Sounde. But these Pipes are never vsed by any Artists in Musicke; but by the more Rusticall Sorte of People.

The Stringed Instruments now in vse are two-fold, either Gut-stringes or Wyre-stringes.

Instruments with Gut-stringes are of Three sortes.

1. The HARPE, which is made in forme of a Triangle, & hath the stringes open on both sides, for either hande to play with all; & is played vppon with the fingers of both handes.

2. The LUTE, which is made with a Round backe, like a halfe-Globe, the belly of it flat & even to the finger-board. This is played vppon with the fingers of the right hand & stoppinge the notes with the left hand on the finger-board. It hath sometymes 24 stringes, sometymes 19 stringes; and sometimes lesse, as pleaseth the Musitian to have it.

Of this kind is the THEORBO, beinge only a Basse-Lute: made larger to carry a Deepe Sounde.

3. The VIOLE: which is either Treble, Tenour, or Base, accordinge to its magnitude: These have onely Sixe Stringes a peece, and are played vppon with a Bowe.

Of this Sorte also is the VIOLIN, which hath but fowre stringes & is the least sort: which carryes an excellent Treble parte; save onely this hath no frets on the fingerboard (because of its littlenes) as the other Violes have; but the notes on this are strooke by the Ear.

Instruments with Wyre-stringes are of fowre sorts.

1. VIRGINALLS. These are made with Keyes, as the Organs: and indeed is nothinge else but a stringed Organ.

From these the HARPSICALLS and Double Harpsicalls are deduced; all made after the same manner.

2. ORPHARION: which is onely a Wyre-stringed Lute

save the forme of the backe of this is made more flat, the Lute more round: & from this the BANDORA (as we call it) somewhat larger; the ffrets on the finger-board of these beinge made of brasse, which is layd into the Wood; but the ffrets of the Lute and Violes are made of stringes tyed about the finger-board.

3. HARPE: which we usually call the IRISH HARPE, as most vsed by them, with Wyre-strings: the other called by us THE WELSH-HARPE, with Gut-stringes.

4. The PSITTYRNE; and from thence the GITTERNE.

[The Psittyrne] is not so apt for the voyce as the Lute or Viole, but yeilds a Sweete and Gentle Sound, which the name importeth; for ψιθύρα is a Greeke word, and commeth of ψίθυρος, which signifies 'a whisperinge sound'; like to which is the sound of this Instrument: some write it 'Citharen,'—but falsely,—for 'Psithyren,' &, by contraction, 'Psittyrne.' It contayneth fowre Course of stringes, as at this day we vse it, each Course being doubled, havinge two Stringes of one sound in each course; They are Wire Stringes; & is played vppon with a little peice of Quill or Pen, wherewith the Stringes be touched. It is now usually taught by Letters, not by Notes of Musicke.

Like vnto this is the instrument we now vsually do call a GITTERNE, which indeed is onely a Treble Psittyrne, beinge somewhat lesse then the other, yieldinge a more Treble Smart sound, havinge the same number & the same Order of Wynd-strings, & playd vppon with a Quill, after the same order as the Psittyrne; onely some variation in the Tuninge, which may also be varyed in the Psittyrne at pleasure.

To these may be added the APOPREY, brought into England about 1644, which is playd on with two little sticks; in either hand; & hath Wyre-stringes, onely 4 Course.

These I thought good to mention here, that Posterity may know the difference of them, and likewise what new Inventions shall be found out afterwards.

29. THE FUNERAL OF OLIVER CROMWELL [1658]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1658, *Oct.* 22.—Saw the superb funeral of the Protector. He was carried from Somerset House in a velvet bed of state, drawn by six horses, housed with the same; the pall held by his new Lords; Oliver lying in effigy, in royal robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre, and globe like a king. The pendants and guidons [1] were carried by the officers of the army; the Imperial banners, achievements, etc., by the heraulds in their coats; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour, armed cap-a-pie, and, after all, his guards, soldiers, and innumerable mariners. In this equipage, they proceeded to Westminster: but it was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw; for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went.

Under date Jan. 30, 1661, Evelyn—with Royalist sympathies—writes:

30*th.*—This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcases of those arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshawe (the judge who condemned his Majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the Usurper), dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the Kings, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from 9 in the morning till 6 at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators.

[1] A small flag or streamer.

THE RESTORATION

30. THE COFFEE-HOUSE [1659]

(a) *Pleasant Discourse*

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary*. Under date.

1659, *Jan.* 10.—To the Coffee-house, where were a great confluence of gentlemen; viz. Mr Harrington, Poultny, chairman, Gold, Dr Petty, etc., where admirable discourse till 9 at night. . . .

Jan. 17*th.*— . . . I went to the Coffee Club, and heard very good discourse; it was in answer to Mr Harrington's answer, who said that the state of the Roman Government was not a settled government, and so it was no wonder that the balance of prosperity was in one hand, and the command in another, it being therefore always in a posture of war; but it was carried by ballot, that it was a steady government, though it is true by the voices it had been carried before that it was an unsteady government; so to-morrow it is to be proved by the opponents that the balance lay in one hand, and the government in another.

1664, *Feb.* 3*rd.*—In Govent Garden to-night, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great Coffee-house there, where I never was before: where Dryden the poet, I knew at Cambridge, and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr Hoole of our College. And, had I had time then, or could at other times, it will be good coming thither, for there, I perceive, is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry, and, as it was late, they were all ready to go away.

(b) *An Attack on Coffee-Houses*

SOURCE: Contemporary pamphlet dated 1673. Harleian Miscellany, Vol. VI., 1810.

A coffee-house is a lay conventicle, good-fellowship turned puritan, ill-husbandry in masquerade, whither people come,

after toping all day, to purchase, at the expense of their last penny, the repute of sober companions: A rota-room, that like Noah's ark, receives animals of every sort, from the precise diminutive band, to the hectoring cravat and cuffs in folio; a nursery for training up the smaller fry of virtuosi in confident tattling, or a cabal of kittling critics that have only learned to spit and mew; a mint of intelligence, that, to make each man his pennyworth, draws out into petty parcels, what the merchant receives in bullion: he, that comes often, saves twopence a week in Gazettes, and has his news and his coffee for the same change, as at a 3d. ordinary they give in broth to your chop of mutton; it is an exchange, where haberdashers of political small-wares meet, and mutually abuse each other, and the public, with bottomless stories, and headless notions; the rendezvous of idle pamphlets, and persons more idly employed to read them; a high court of justice, where every little fellow in a camlet cloak takes upon him to transpose affairs both in Church and State, to show reasons against acts of parliament, and condemn the decrees of general councils. . . .

As you have a hodge-podge of drinks, such too is your company, for each man seems a leveller; and ranks and files himself as he lists, without regard to degrees or order; so that often you may see a silly fop and a worshipful justice, a griping rook and a grave citizen, a worthy lawyer and an errant pickpocket, a reverend nonconformist and a canting mountebank, all blended together to compose an oglio of impertinence.

If any pragmatic, to show himself witty or eloquent, begin to talk high, presently the further tables are abandoned, and all the rest flock round like smaller birds, to admire the gravity of the madge-howlet. They listen to him awhile with their mouths, and let their pipes go out, and coffee grow cold, for pure zeal of attention, but on the sudden fall

all a-yelping at once with more noise, but not half so much harmony, as a pack of beagles on the full cry.

To still this bawling, up starts Captain All-man-sir, the man of mouth, with a face as blustering as that of Æolus and his four sons, in painting, and a voice louder than the speaking trumpet, he begins you the story of a sea-fight . . . though he never were further, by water, than the Bear-garden. . . . He is no sooner out of breath, but another begins a lecture on the Gazette; where, finding several prizes taken, he gravely observes, If this trade hold, we shall quickly rout the Dutch, horse and foot, by sea; he nicknames the Polish gentlemen, wherever he meets them, and enquires whether Gayland and Taffaletta be Lutherans or Calvinists? *Stilo novo* he interprets 'a vast *new style* or turnpike,' erected by his electoral highness on the borders of Westphalia, to keep Monsieur Turenne's cavalry from falling on his retreating troops; he takes words by the sound, without examining their sense: Morea he believes to be the country of the Moors, and Hungary a place where famine always keeps her court; nor is there anything more certain, than that he made a whole room of fops, as wise as himself, spend above two hours in searching the map for *Aristocracy* and *Democracy*; not doubting but to have found them there, as well as Dalmatia and Croatia.

(c) *Coffee-Houses Vindicated.*

SOURCE: Contemporary pamphlet dated 1675. Harleian Miscellany, Vol. VI., 1810.

Though the happy Arabia, nature's spicery, prodigally furnishes the voluptuous world with all kinds of aromatics and divers other rareties; yet I scarce know whether mankind be not still as much obliged to it for the excellent fruit of the humble coffee-shrub, as for any other of its more specious productions: for since there is nothing we here enjoy, next to life, valuable beyond health, certainly those

things that contribute to preserve us in good plight and eucracy, and fortify our weak bodies against the continual assaults and batteries of diseases, deserve our regards much more than those which only gratify a liquorish palate, or otherwise prove subservient to our delights.

As for this salutiferous berry, of so general a use through all the regions of the East, it is sufficiently known, when prepared, to be moderately hot, and of a very drying, attenuating, and cleansing quality; whence reason infers, that its decoction must contain many good physical properties, and cannot but be an incomparable remedy to dissolve crudities, comfort the brain, and dry up all humours in the stomach. . . .

Man is a sociable creature, and delights in company. Now whither shall a person, wearied with hard study, or the laborious turmoils of a tedious day repair to refresh himself? Or where can young gentlemen, or shop-keepers, more innocently and advantageously spend an hour or two in the evening, than at a coffee-house? Where they shall be sure to meet company, and, by the custom of the house, not such as at other places, stingy and reserved to themselves, but free and communicative: where every man may modestly begin his story, and propose to, or answer another as he thinks fit.

Discourse is *pabulum animi, cos ingenii*; the mind's best diet, and the great whetstone and incentive of ingenuity; by that we come to know men better than by their physiognomy. *Loquere, ut te videam*, "Speak, that I may see thee," was the philosopher's adage. To read men is acknowledged more useful than books; but where is there a better library for that study, generally, than here, amongst such a variety of humours, all expressing themselves on divers subjects, according to their respective abilities?

. . . . . .

Upon the whole matter, spite of the idle sarcasms and

paltry reproaches thrown upon it, we may, with no less truth than plainness, give this brief character to a *well-regulated* coffee-house . . . , that it is the sanctuary of health, the nursery of temperance, the delight of frugality, an academy of civility, and free-school of ingenuity.

31. THE INTRODUCTION OF TEA

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary*. Under dates.

1660, *Sept. 25th.*—I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink), of which I never had drank before, and went away. . . .

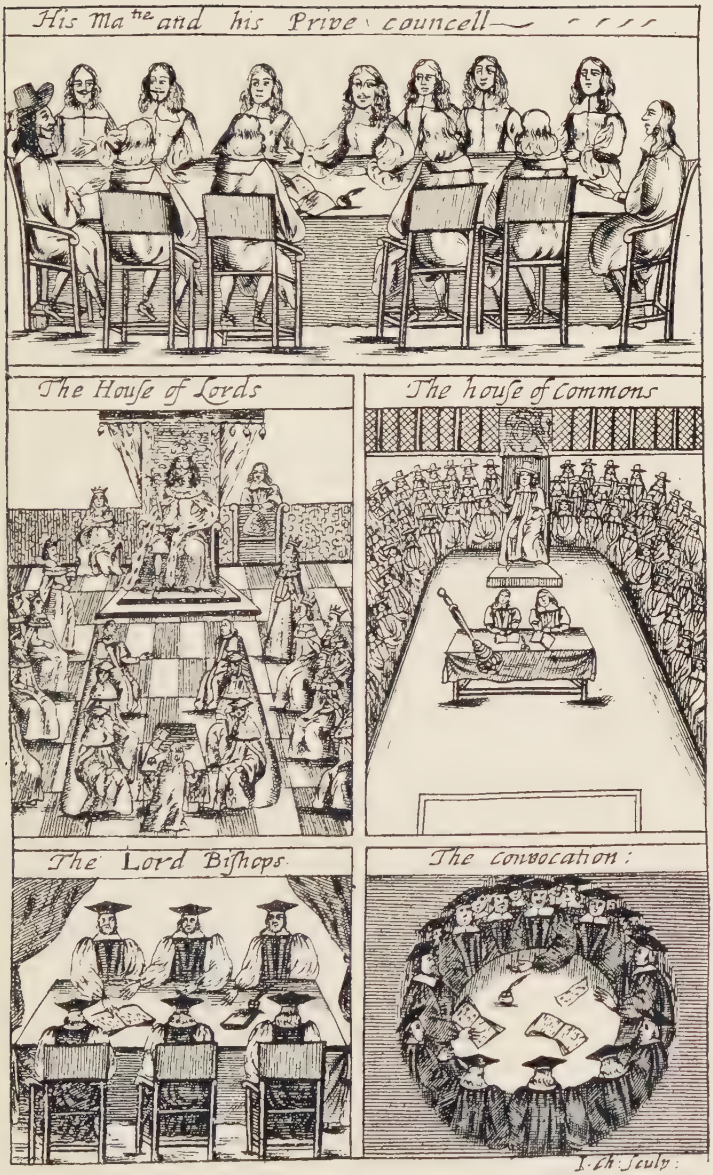
1667, *June 28th.*—Home, and there find my wife making of tea; a drink which Mr Pelling, the Potticary, tells her is good for her cold.

32. RESTORATION DAY [MAY 29TH, 1660]

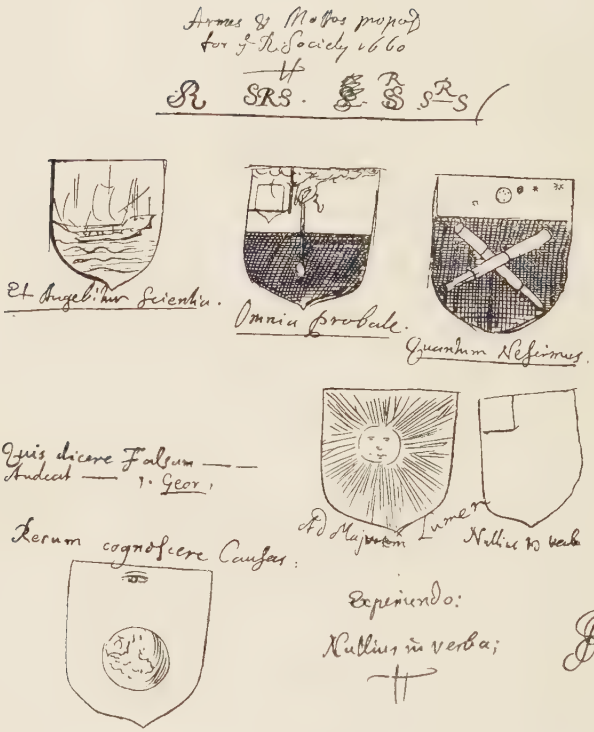
SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1660, *May 29th.*—This day, his Majesty Charles II. came to London, after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering both of the King and Church, being 17 years. This was also his birthday, and with a triumph of about 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords, and shouting, with inexpressible joy; the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Companies, in their liveries, chains of gold, and banners; Lords and Nobles, clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet; the windows and balconies, all set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the City, even from 2 in the afternoon till 9 at night.

I stood in the Strand and beheld it, and blessed God.



The Restoration Parliament



Evelyn's Designs for the Arms of the Royal Society

And all this was done without one drop of blood shed, and by that very army which rebelled against him; but it was the Lord's doing, for such a Restoration was never mentioned in any history, ancient or modern, since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity; nor so joyful a day and so bright ever seen in this nation.

33. REJOICINGS AT THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II. [1660]

SOURCE: Burnet's *History of My Own Times.*

With the restoration of the King, a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought on with it at the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety: all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overrun the three kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the King's health, there were great disorders and much riot everywhere, and the pretences of religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matters, to the profane mockers of true piety.

34. AN ENEMY TO CATS [1661]

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary.* Under date.

1661, *September 11th.*—To Dr Williams, who did carry me into his garden, where he hath abundance of grapes; and he did show me how a dog that he hath do kill all the cats that come thither to kill his pigeons, and so afterwards bury them; and do it with so much care that they shall be quite covered; that if the tip of the tail hangs out, he will take up the cat again, and dig the hole deeper, which is very strange; and he tells me, that he do believe he hath killed above 100 cats.

35. WESTMINSTER SCHOOL [1661]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1661, *May* 13.—I heard and saw such exercises at the election of Scholars at Westminster School to be sent to the University, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, in themes and extemporary verses, as wonderfully astonished me in such youths, with such readiness and wit, some of them not above 12 or 13 years of age. Pity it is, that what they attain here so ripely, they either do not retain, or do not improve more considerably when they come to be men, though many of them do; and no less is to be blamed their odd pronouncing of Latin, so that out of England none were able to understand, or endure it. The Examinants, or Posers, were, Dr Duport, Greek Professor at Cambridge; Dr Fell, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; Dr Pierson, Dr Allestree, Dean of Westminster, and any that would.

36. THE ROYAL SOCIETY [1661]

SOURCE: Wallis's *Account of Some Passages of his own Life*, quoted in Weld's *History of the Royal Society*, 1848.

About the year 1645, while I lived in London (at a time when by our civil wars, academical studies were much interrupted in both our Universities), beside the conversation of divers eminent divines, as to matters theological, I had the opportunity of being acquainted with divers worthy persons, inquisitive into natural philosophy, and other parts of human learning: and particularly of what hath been called the *New Philosophy* or *Experimental Philosophy*. We did by aggreements, divers of us, meet weekly in London on a certain day, to treat and discourse of such affairs; of which number were *Dr John Wilkins* (afterward *Bishop of Chester*), *Dr Jonathan Goddard*, *Dr George Ent*, *Dr Glisson*, *Dr Merret* (Drs in Physick), *Mr Samuel Foster*, then Professor

of Astronomy at Gresham College, *Mr Theodore Hank* (a German of the Palatinate, and then resident in London, who, I think, gave the first occasion, and first suggested those meetings), and many others.

These meetings we held sometimes at *Dr Goddard's* lodgings in *Wood Street* (or some convenient place near), on occasion of his keeping an operator in his house for grinding glasses for telescopes and microscopes; sometimes at a convenient place in *Cheapside*, and sometimes at *Gresham College*, or some place near adjoyning.

Our business was (precluding matters of Theology and state affairs) to discourse and consider of *Philosophical Enquiries*, and such as related thereunto: as *physick, anatomy, geometry, astronomy, navigation, staticks, magneticks, chymicks, mechanicks*, and natural *experiments*; with the state of these studies, as then cultivated at home and abroad. We then discoursed of *the circulation of the blood, the valves in the veins, the venæ lacteæ, the lymphatick vessels, the Copernican hypothesis, the nature of comets and new stars, the satellites of Jupiter, the oval shape* (as it then appeared) *of Saturn, the spots in the Sun and its turning on its own axis, the inequalities and selenography of the moon, the several phases of Venus and Mercury, the improvement of telescopes, and grinding of glasses for that purpose, the weight of air, the possibility, or impossibility of Vacuities, and nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian experiment in quicksilver, the descent of heavenly bodies, and the degrees of acceleration therein*; and divers other things of like nature. Some of which were then but new discoveries, and others not so generally known and imbraced as now they are, with other things appertaining to what hath been called *The New Philosophy*, which from the times of *Galileo* at *Florence*, and *Sir Francis Bacon* (*Lord Verulam*) in England hath been much cultivated in *Italy, France, Germany*, and other parts abroad, as well as with us in *England*. . . .

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under dates.

1661, 6 *Jan.*—I was now chosen (and nominated by His Majesty for one of the Council) by suffrage of the rest of the members, a Fellow of the Philosophic Society now meeting at Gresham College, where was an assembly of divers learned gentlemen. This being the first meeting since the King's return; but it had been begun some years before at Oxford, and was continued with interruption here in London during the Rebellion.

Feb. 13.—I conducted the Danish Ambassador to our meeting at Gresham College, where were showed him various experiments *in vacuo*, and other curiosities.

May 14.—His Majesty was pleased to discourse with me concerning several particulars relating to our Society, and the planet Saturn, etc., as he sate at supper in the with-drawing-room to his bed-chamber.

Nov. 20.—At the Royal Society, Sir William Petty proposed divers things for the improvement of shipping; a versatile keel that should be on hinges, and concerning sheathing ships with thin lead.

Dec. 3.—By universal suffrage of our philosophic assembly, an order was made and registered, that I should receive their public thanks for the honourable mention I made of them by the name of Royal Society in my Epistle dedicatory to the Lord Chancellor, before my Traduction of Naudaeus. Too great an honour for a trifle.

1662, *May* 7.—I waited on Prince Rupert to our Assembly, where were tried several experiments in Mr Boyle's [1] *vacuum*. A man thrusting in his arm, upon exhaustion of the air, had his flesh immediately swelled so as the blood was near bursting the veins: he, drawing it out, we found it all speckled.

August 13.—Our Charter being now passed under the

[1] The Hon. Robert Boyle, son of first Earl of Cork. One of the first members of the Society at its institution. These experiments led to "Boyle's Law."

broad Seal, constituting us a Corporation under the name of "*The Royal Society* for the improvement of natural knowledge by experiment," was this day read, and was all that was done this afternoon, being very large.

21*st.*—I was admitted and then sworn one of the Council of the Royal Society, being nominated in his Majesty's original grant to be of this Council for the regulation of this Society, and making laws and statutes conducible to its establishment and progress, for which we now set apart every Wednesday morning till they were all finished. Lord Viscount Brouncker (that excellent mathematician) was also by his Majesty, our Founder, nominated our first President. The King gave us the armes of England to be borne in a canton in our arms, and sent us a mace of silver gilt of the same fashion and bigness as those carried before his Majesty, to be borne before our President on meeting days. It was brought by Sir Gilbert Talbot, Master of his Majesty's Jewel-house.

29*th.*—The Council and Fellows of the Royal Society went in a body to Whitehall to acknowledge his Majesty's royal grace in granting our Charter, and vouchsafing to be himself our Founder; when the President made an eloquent speech, to which his Majesty gave a gracious reply, and we all kissed his hand.

Next day, we went in like manner with our address to my Lord Chancellor, who had much promoted our patent; he received us with extraordinary favour.

37. GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS [1664]

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary*. Under date.

(1) *Tennis*

1664, *Jan.* 4.—To the Tennis Court, and there saw the King play at Tennis and others: but to see how the King's play was extolled, without any cause at all, was a loathsome

sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well, and deserved to be commended; but such open flattery is beastly.

(2) *Cock-Fighting*

1663, *Dec.* 21.—To Shoe Lane to see a cocke-fighting at a new pit there, a spot I was never at in my life: but, Lord! to see the strange variety of people, from Parliament man, by name Wildes, that was Deputy Governor of the Tower when Robinson was Lord Mayor, to the poorest 'prentices, bakers, brewers, butchers, draymen, and what not; and all these fellows one with another cursing and betting. I soon had enough of it. It is strange to see how people of this poor rank, that look as if they had not bread to put in their mouths, shall bet three or four pounds at a time and lose it, and yet bet as much the next battle; so that one of them will lose 10 or 20l. at a meeting.

(3) *Fencing*

1663, *June* 1.—I with Sir J. Minnes to the Strand Maypole; and there light out of his coach, and walked to the New Theatre, which, since the King's players are gone to the Royal one, is this day begun to be employed by the fencers to play prizes at. And here I come and saw the first prize I ever saw in my life: and it was between one Mathews, who did beat at all weapons, and one Westwicke, who was soundly cut several times both in the head and legs, that he was all over blood: and other deadly blows they did give and take in very good earnest, till Westwicke was in a sad pickle. They fought at eight weapons, three boutes at each weapon. This being upon a private quarrel, they did it in good earnest; and I felt one of their swords, and found it to be very little, if at all, blunter on the edge

than the common swords are. Strange to see what a deal of money is flung to them both upon the stage between every boute.

(4) *Angling*

1667, *March* 18*th*.—. . . This day Mr Caesar told me a pretty experiment of his, of angling with a minnikin, a gut-string varnished over, which keeps it from swelling, and is beyond any hair for strength and smallness. The secret I like mightily.

(5) *Foot-Racing*

1663, *July* 30*th*.—The towne talk this day is of nothing but the great foot-race run this day on Banstead Downes, between Lee, the Duke of Richmond's footman, and a tyler, a famous runner. And Lee hath beat him; though the King and Duke of York and all men almost did bet three or four to one upon the tyler's head.

(6) *At the Beare-Garden*

1666, *August* 14*th*.—After dinner, with my wife and Mercer to the Beare-Garden; where I have not been, I think, of many years, and saw some good sport of the bull's tossing of the dogs—one into the very boxes. But it is a very rude and nasty pleasure. We had a great many hectors in the same box with us, and one very fine went into the pit, and played his dog for a wager; which was strange sport for a gentleman; where they drank wine and drank Mercer's health first; which I pledged with my hat off. We supped at home, and very merry. And then about nine to Mrs Mercer's gate, where the fire and boys expected us, and her son had provided abundance of

serpents and rockets; and there mighty merry, my Lady Pen and Pegg going thither with us, and Nan Wright, till about twelve at night, flinging our fireworks, and burning one another, and the people over the way. And, at last, our businesses being most spent, we went into Mrs Mercer's, and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle grease and soot, till most of us were like devils. And that being done, then we broke up, and to my house; and there I made them drink, and upstairs we went, and then fell into dancing, W. Batelier dancing well; and dressing, him and I, and one Mr Banister, who, with my wife, come over also with us, like women; and Mercer put on a suit of Tom's, like a boy, and mighty mirth we had, and Mercer danced a jigg; and Nan Wright and my wife and Pegg Pen put on perriwigs. Thus we spent till three or four in the morning, mighty merry; and then parted, and to bed.

Aug. 15*th.*—Mighty sleepy; slept till past eight of the clock. . . .

1667, *May* 27*th.*—. . . Abroad and stopped at Beare-garden stairs, there to see a prize fought. But the house so full there was no getting in there, so forced to go through an alehouse into the pit, where the bears are baited; and upon a stool did see them fight, which they did very furiously, a butcher and a waterman. The former had the better all along till by and by the latter dropped his sword out of his hand, and the butcher, whether not seeing his sword dropped I know not, but did give him a cut over the wrist, so as he was disabled to fight any longer. But, Lord! to see how in a minute the whole stage was full of watermen to revenge the foul play, and the butchers to defend their fellow, though most blamed him; and there they all fell to it to knocking down and cutting many on each side. It was pleasant to see, but that I stood in the pit, and feared that in the tumult I might get some hurt. At last the battle broke up, and so I away.

(7) *Racing at Newmarket*

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under dates.

1671, *Oct.* 9.—I went, after evening-service, to London, in order to a journey of refreshment with Mr Treasurer, to Newmarket, where the King then was, in his coach with 6 brave horses, which we changed thrice, first, at Bishop-Stortford and last, at Chesterford; so, by night, we got to Newmarket, where Mr Henry Jermain (nephew to the Earl of St Alban's) lodged me very civilly. We proceeded immediately to Court, the King and all the English gallants being there at their autumnal sports. Supped at the Lord Chamberlain's; and, the next day, after dinner, I was on the heath, where I saw the great match run between Woodcock and Flatfoot, belonging to the King, and to Mr Eliot of the Bedchamber, many thousands being spectators; a more signal race had not been run for many years.

Oct. 16*th.*—Came all the great men from Newmarket. . . . In the morning, we went hunting and hawking; in the afternoon, till almost morning, to cards and dice, yet I must say without noise, swearing, quarrel, or confusion of any sort. I, who was no gamester, had often discourse with the French Ambassador, Colbert, and went sometimes abroad on horseback with the ladies to take the air, and now and then to hunting.

(8) *Witnessing Public Executions*

1664, *Jan.* 21*st.*—Up, and after sending my wife to my aunt Wight's to get a place to see Turner hanged, I to the 'Change; and seeing people flock in the City, I enquired and found that Turner was not yet hanged. And so I went among them to Leadenhall Street, at the end of Lyme Street, near where the robbery was done; and to St Mary Axe, where he lived. And there I got for a shilling to stand upon the

wheel of a cart, in great pain, above an hour before the execution was done; he delaying the time by long discourses and prayers, one after another, in hopes of a reprieve; but none come, and at last was flung off the ladder in his cloak. A comely-looked man he was, and kept his countenance to the end: I was sorry to see him. It was believed there were at least 12 or 14,000 people in the street.

(9) *Gambling*

1668, *Jan.* 1*st.*—. . . By and by I met with Mr Brisband; and having it in my mind this Christmas to do what I never can remember that I did, go to see the gaming at the Groome-Porter's, I having in my coming from the playhouse stepped into the two Temple-halls, and there saw the dirty prentices and idle people playing; wherein I was mistaken, in thinking to have seen gentlemen of quality playing there, . . . he did lead me thither; where, after staying an hour, they begun to play, at about eight at night. . . . And lastly to see the formality of the groome-porter, who is their judge of all disputes in play and all quarrels that may arise therein, and how his under officers are there to observe true play at each table, and to give new dice, is a consideration I never could have thought had been in the world, had I not now seen it. . . . And so I, having enough for once, refusing to venture, though Brisband pressed me hard, . . . went away.

(10) *Pell-Mell*

1664, *Jan.* 4.—. . . Afterwards to St James' Park, seeing people play at Pell-Mell; where it pleased me mightly to hear a gallant, lately come from France, swear at one of his companions, for suffering his man, a spruce blade, to be so saucy as to strike a ball while his master was playing on the Mall.

38. HOW A GREAT SCULPTOR ROSE TO FAME [1671]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1671, *Jan. 18th.*—This day, I first acquainted His Majesty with that incomparable young man Gibbons [Grinling Gibbons] whom I had lately met with in an obscure place by mere accident, as I was walking near a poor solitary thatched house, in a field in our parish [Deptford], near Sayes Court. I found him shut in; but looking in at the window, I perceived him carving that large cartoon, or crucifix, of Tintoretto, a copy of which I had myself brought from Venice, where the original painting remains. I asked if I might enter; he opened the door civilly to me, and I saw him about such a work as for curiosity of handling, drawing, and studious exactness, I never had before seen in all my travels. I questioned him why he worked in such an obscure and lonesome place; he told me it was that he might apply himself to his profession without interruption, and wondered not a little how I had found him out. I asked if he was unwilling to be made known to some great man, for that I believed it might turn to his profit; he answered, he was yet but a beginner, but would not be sorry to sell off that piece; on demanding the price, he said £100. In good earnest, the very frame was worth the money, there being nothing in nature so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the work was very strong; in the piece was more than 100 figures of men, etc. I found he was likewise musical, and very civil, sober, and discreet in his discourse. There was only an old woman in his house. So, desiring leave to visit him sometimes, I went away.

Of this young artist, together with my manner of finding him out, I acquainted the King, and begged that he would give me leave to bring him and his work to Whitehall, for that I would adventure my reputation with his Majesty that he had never seen anything approach it, and that he

would be exceedingly pleased, and employ him. The King said he would himself go see him. This was the first notice his Majesty ever had of Mr Gibbons.

39. THE THEATRE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary*. Under dates.

18*th August*, 1660.—Captain Ferrers took me and Creed to the Cockpit play, the first that I have had time to see since my coming from sea, "The Loyall Subject," where one Kinaston, a boy, acted the Duke's sister, but made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life.

11*th October*.—To walk in St. James's Park, where we observed the several engines at work to draw up water, with which sight I was very much pleased. Above all the rest, I liked that which Mr Greatorex brought, which do carry up the water with a great deal of ease. Here, in the Park, we met with Mr Salisbury, who took Mr Creed and me to the Cockpit to see "The Moor of Venice," which was well done. Burt acted the Moor; by the same token, a very pretty lady that sat by me called out, to see Desdemona smothered.

20*th November*.—Mr Shepley and I to the new playhouse near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (which was formerly Gibbon's tennis-court), where the play of "Beggar's Bush" was newly begun; and so we went in, and saw it well acted: and here I saw the first time one Moone, who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King, and indeed it is the finest play-house, I believe, that ever was in England. This morning I found my Lord in bed late, he having been with the King, Queen, and Princess at the Cockpit all night, where General Monk treated them; and after supper a play, where the King did put a great affront upon Singleton's musique, he bidding them stop, and made the French musique play, which, my Lord says, do much outdo all ours.

4th November, 1661.—With my wife to the Opera, where we saw "The Bondman," which of old we both did so doate on, and do still; though to both our thinking not so well acted here, having too great expectations, as formerly at Salisbury Court. But for Betterton, he is called by us both the best actor in the world,

March 1, 1662.—To the Opera, and there saw "Romeo and Juliet," the first time it was ever acted. . . . I am resolved to go no more to see the first time of acting, for they were all of them out more or less.

29th September.—To Mr Coventry's, and so with him and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke, where the King came also, and staid till the Duke was ready. It being Collar-day, we had no time to talk with him about any business. To the King's Theatre, where we saw "Midsummer's Night's Dream," which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid, ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life.

October 2.—At night, hearing that there was a play at the Cockpit, and my Lord Sandwich, who come to town last night, at it, I do go thither, and by very great fortune did follow four or five gentlemen who were carried to a little private door in the wall, and so crept through a narrow place, and come into one of the boxes next the King's, but so as I could not see the King or Queene, but many of the fine ladies, who yet are not really so handsome generally as I used to take them to be, but that they are finaly dressed. Then we saw "The Cardinall," a tragedy I had never seen before, nor is there any great matter in it. The company that come in with me into the box were all Frenchmen, that could speak no English; but Lord! what sport they made to ask a pretty lady that they got among them, that understood both French and English, to make her tell them what the actors said.

17th November.—To the Duke's to-day, but he is gone a-hunting. . . . At White Hall by appointment; Mr Creed

carried my wife and I to the Cockpitt, and we had excellent places, and saw the King, Queen, Duke of Monmouth, his son, and my Lady Castlemaine, and all the fine ladies; and "The Scornfull Lady" well performed. They had done by eleven o'clock; and, it being fine moonshine, we took coach and home.

8th January, 1663.—Dined at home; and there being the famous new play acted the first time to-day, which is called "The Adventures of Five Hours," at the Duke's house, being, they say, made or translated by Colonel Tuke, I did long to see it; and so we went; and though early, were forced to sit, almost out of sight, at the end of one of the lower formes, so full was the house. And the play, in one word, is the best, for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw, or think ever shall.

28th May.—By water to the Royal Theatre; but that was so full they told us we could have no room. And so to the Duke's house; and there saw "Hamlett" done, giving us fresh reason never to think enough of Betterton. Who should we see come upon the stage but Gosnell, my wife's maid, but neither spoke, danced, nor sung; which I was sorry for.

29th.—This day is kept strictly as a holy-day, being the King's Coronation. Creed and I abroad, and called at several churches; and it is a wonder to see, and by that to guess the ill temper of the City, at this time, either to religion in general, or to the King, that in some churches there was hardly ten people, and these poor people. . . . To the Duke's house, and there saw "The Slighted Mayde," wherein Gosnell acted Pyramena, a great part, and did it very well. . . . Then with Creed to see the German Princesse, at the Gate-house, at Westminster.

12th June.—To the Royal Theatre; and there saw "The Committee," a merry but indifferent play, only Lacy's

part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination. Here I saw my Lord Falconbridge, and his lady, my Lady Mary Cromwell, who looks as well as I have known her, and well clad: but when the house began to fill, she put on her vizard, and so kept it on all the play; which of late is become a great fashion among the ladies, which hides their whole face. So to the Exchange, to buy things with my wife; among others, a vizard for herself.

13*th*.—To the Royal Theatre. . . . In our way saw my Lady Castlemaine, who, I fear, is not so handsome as I have taken her for, and now she begins to decay something. This is my wife's opinion also.

27*th January*, 1664.—At the Coffee-house, where I sat with Sir G. Ascue and William Petty, who in discourse is, methinks, one of the most rational men that ever I heard speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear. . . . To Covent Garden, to buy a maske at the French house, Madame Charett's, for my wife; in the way observing the street full of coaches at the new play, at "The Indian Queene," which for show, they say, exceeds "Henry the Eighth." Called to see my brother Tom, who was not at home, though they say he is in a deep consumption, and will not live two months.

February 1.—Mr Pierce tells me how the King, coming the other day to his Theatre to see "The Indian Queene," which he commends for a very fine thing, my Lady Castlemaine was in the next box before he come; and leaning over other ladies awhile to whisper with the King, she rose out of the box and went into the King's, and set herself on the King's right hand, between the King and the Duke of York: which, he swears, put the King himself, as well as everybody else, out of countenance; and believes that she did it only to show the world that she is not out of favour yet, as was believed. To the King's Theatre, and there saw "The Indian Queene" acted; which indeed is a most pleasant show, and

beyond my expectation; the play good, but spoiled with the ryme, which breaks the sense. But above my expectation most, the eldest Marshall did do her part most excellently well as I ever heard woman in my life; but her voice is not so sweet as Ianthe's: but, however, we come home mightily contented.

June 1.—To the King's house, and saw "The Silent Woman," but methought not so well done or so good a play as I formerly thought it to be. Before the play was done, it fell such a storm of hayle, that we in the middle of the pit were fain to rise; and all the house in a disorder.

2*d August.*—To the King's playhouse, and there saw "Bartholomew Fayre," which do still please me; and is, as it is acted, the best comedy in the world, I believe. I chanced to sit by Tom Killigrew, who tells me that he is setting up a Nursery; that is, is going to build a house in Moorefields, wherein he will have common plays acted. But four operas it shall have in the year, to act six weeks at a time: where we shall have the best scenes and machines, the best musique, and every thing as magnificent as is in Christendome; and to that end hath sent for voices and painters and other persons from Italy. Thence homeward called upon my Lord Marlborough.

4*th.*—To a play at the King's house, "The Rivall Ladys," a very innocent and most pretty witty play. I was much pleased with it, and, it being given me, I look upon it as no breach of my oath. Here we hear that Clun, one of their best actors, was, the last night, going out of towne, after he had acted the Alchymist, wherein was one of his best parts that he acts, to his country-house, set upon and murdered; one of the rogues taken, an Irish fellow. It seems most cruelly butchered and bound. The house will have a great miss of him.

4*th October.*—After dinner, to a play, to see "The Generall"; which is so dull and so ill acted, that I think

it is the worst I ever saw or heard in all my days. I happened to sit near to Sir Charles Sedley: who I find a very witty man, and he did at every line take notice of the dullness of the poet and badness of the action, and that most pertinently; which I was mightily taken with.

19*th March*, 1666.—After dinner, we walked to the King's playhouse, all in dirt, they being altering of the stage to make it wider. But God knows when they will begin to act again; but my business here was to see the inside of the stage and all the tiring-rooms and machines; and, indeed, it was a sight worthy seeing. But to see their clothes, and the various sorts, and what a mixture of things there was; here a wooden-leg, there a ruff, here a hobby-horse, there a crown, would make a man split himself to see with laughing; and particularly Lacy's wardrobe, and Shotrell's. But then again to think how fine they show on the stage by candle-light, and how poor things they are to look at too near hand, is not pleasant at all. The machines are fine, and the paintings very pretty.

7*th December*, 1666.—To the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I come in; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of "The Mayd's Tragedy," a good play, and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, who is become a pretty good actor, and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses, since before the great plague, they having acted now about fourteen days publickly. But I was in mighty pain, lest I should be seen by any body to be at a play.

23*d January*, 1667.—To the King's house, and there saw "The Humerous Lieutenant," a silly play, I think; only the Spirit in it that grows very tall, and then sinks again to nothing, having two heads breeding upon one, and then Knipp's singing, did please us. Here, in a box above, we spied Mrs Pierce; and, going out, they called us, and so we staid for them; and Knipp took us all in, and brought to

us Nelly, a most pretty woman, who acted the great part of Coelia to-day very fine, and did it pretty well: I kissed her, and so did my wife; and a mighty pretty soul she is. We also saw Mrs Hall, which is my little Roman-nose black girl, that is mighty pretty: she is usually called Betty. Knipp made us stay in a box and see the dancing preparatory to to-morrow for "The Goblins," a play of Suckling's, not acted these twenty-five years; which was pretty. . . . In our way home, we find the Guards of horse in the street, and hear the occasion to be news that the seamen are in a mutiny; which put me into a great fright.

4*th February*.—Soon as dined, my wife and I out to the Duke's playhouse, and there saw "Heraclius," an excellent play, to my extraordinary content; and the more from the house being very full, and great company; among others, Mrs Stewart, very fine, with her loeks done up with puffes, as my wife calls them: and several other great ladies had their hair so, though I do not like it; but my wife do mightily—but it is only because she sees it is the fashion.

18*th*.—To the King's house to "The Mayd's Tragedy"; but vexed all the while with two talking ladies and Sir Charles Sedley; yet pleased to hear their discourse, he being a stranger. And one of the ladies would, and did sit with her mask on, all the play, and being exceeding witty as ever I heard woman, did talk most pleasantly with him; but was, I believe, a virtuous woman, and of quality. He would fain know who she was, but she would not tell; yet did give him many pleasant hints of her knowledge of him, by that means setting his brains at work to find out who she was and did give him leave to use all means to find out who she was, but pulling off her mask. He was mighty witty, and she also making sport with him very inoffensively, that a more pleasant rencontre I never heard. But by that means lost the pleasure of the play wholly, to which now and then

Sir Charles Sedley's exceptions against both words and pronouncing were very pretty.

7th March.—To the Duke's playhouse, and saw "The English Princesse, or Richard the Third"; a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good; but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedys are; only little Miss Davis did dance a jig after the end of the play, and there telling the next day's play; so that it come in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boys' clothes; and the truth is, there is no comparison between Nell's dancing the other day at the King's house in boys' clothes and this, this being infinitely beyond the other. . . . This day was reckoned by all people the coldest day that ever was remembered in England; and, God knows! coals at a very great price.

15th April.—To the King's house by chance, where a new play: so full as I never saw it; I forced to stand all the while close to the very door till I took cold, and many people went away for want of room. The King, and Queen, and Duke of York and Duchess there, and all the Court, and Sir W. Coventry. The play called, "The Change of Crownes"; a play of Ned Howard's, the best I ever saw at that house, being a great play and serious; only Lacy did act the country gentleman come up to Court, who do abuse the Court with all the imaginable wit and plainness about selling of places, and doing every thing for money. . . . Thence I to my new bookseller's, and there bought *Hooker's Polity*, the new edition, and *Dugdale's History of the Inns of Court*, of which there was but a few saved out of the fire. . . .

16th.—Home to dinner, and in haste to carry my wife to see the new play I saw yesterday, she not knowing it. But there, contrary to expectation, find "The Silent Woman." . . .

Knipp tells me the King was so angry at the liberty taken

by Lacy's part to abuse him to his face, that he commanded they should act no more, till Moone went and got leave for them to act again, but not this play. The King mighty angry; and it was bitter indeed, but very fine and witty. I never was more taken with a play than I am with this "Silent Woman," as old as it is, and as often as I have seen it. There is more wit in it than goes to ten new plays. . . . Pierce told us the story how, in good earnest, the King is offended with the Duke of Richmond's marrying, and Mrs Stewart sending the King his jewels again. As he tells it, it is the noblest romance and example of a brave lady that ever I read in my life.

16*th August.*—My wife and I to the Duke's playhouse, where we saw the new play acted yesterday, "The Feign Innocence, or Sir Martin Marall"; a play made by my Lord Duke of Newcastle, but, as every body says, corrected by Dryden. It is the most entire piece of mirth, a complete farce from one end to the other, that certainly was ever writ. I never laughed so in all my life, and at very good wit therein, not fooling. The house full, and in all things of mighty content to me.

17*th.*—To the King's playhouse, where the house extraordinary full; and there the King and Duke of York to see the new play, "Queen Elizabeth's Troubles, and the History of Eighty Eight." I confess I have sucked in so much of the sad story of Queen Elizabeth from my cradle, that I was ready to weep for her sometimes; but the play is the most ridiculous that sure ever came upon stage; and, indeed, is merely a show, only shows the true garbe of the Queen in those days, just as we see Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth painted, but the play is merely a puppet play, acted by living puppets. Neither the design nor language better; and one stands by and tells us the meaning of things: only I was pleased to see Knipp dance among the milkmaids, and to hear her sing a song to Queen Elizabeth; and to see her

come out in her night-gowne with no lockes on, but her bare face and hair only tied up in a knot behind; which is the comliest dress that ever I saw her in to her advantage.

5th October.—To the King's house: and there, going in, met with Knipp, and she took us up into . . . the scene-room, and there sat down, and she gave us fruit: and here I read the questions to Knipp, while she answered me, through all her part of "Flora's Figarys," which was acted to-day. But, Lord! to see how they were both painted would make a man mad, and did make me loath them . . .; And how poor the men are in clothes, and yet what a show they make on the stage by candle-light, is very observable. But to see how Nell cursed, for having so few people in the pit, was pretty; the other house carrying away all the people at the new play, and is said, now-a-days, to have generally most company, as being better players. By and by into the pit, and there saw the play, which is pretty good.

16th.—To the Duke of York's house; and I was vexed to see Young, who is a bad actor at best, act Macbeth, in the room of Betterton, who, poor man! is sick: but, Lord! what a prejudice it wrought in me against the whole play.

19th.—Full of my desire of seeing my Lord Orrery's new play this afternoon at the King's house, "The Black Prince," the first time it is acted; where, though we came by two o'clock, yet there was no room in the pit, but were forced to go into one of the upper boxes, at 4*s.* a piece, which is the first time I ever sat in a box in my life. And in the same box came, by and by, behind me, my Lord Barkeley and his lady; but I did not turn my face to them to be known, so that I was excused from giving them my seat; and this pleasure I had, that from this place the scenes do appear very fine indeed, and much better than in the pit. The house infinite full, and the King and Duke of York there. . . . The whole house was mightily pleased all along till the reading of a letter, which was so long and so unnecessary that

they frequently began to laugh, and to hiss twenty times, that, had it not been for the King's being there, they had certainly hissed it off the stage.

28*th December*.—To the King's house, and there saw "The Mad Couple," which is but an ordinary play; but only Nell's and Hart's mad parts are most excellent done, but especially her's: which makes it a miracle to me to think how ill she do any serious part, as the other day, just like a fool or changeling; and, in a mad part, do beyond imitation almost. It pleased us mightily to see the natural affection of a poor woman, the mother of one of the children brought on the stage: the child crying, she by force got upon the stage, and took up her child and carried it away off of the stage from Hart.

December 2, 1668.—Abroad with my wife, the first time that ever I rode in my own coach, which do make my heart rejoice, and praise God, and pray him to bless it to me and continue it. So she and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Usurper"; a pretty good play, in all but what is designed to resemble Cromwell and Hugh Peters, which is mighty silly.

3*d*.—At noon home to dinner, and then abroad again, with my wife, to the Duke of York's playhouse, and saw "The Unfortunate Lovers"; a mean play, I think, but some parts very good, and excellently acted. We sat under the boxes, and saw the fine ladies; among others, my Lady Kerneguy, who is most devilishly painted. And so home, it being mighty pleasure to go alone with my poor wife, in a coach of our own, to a play, and makes us appear mighty great, I think, in the world; at least greater than ever I could, or my friends for me, have once expected; or, I think, than ever any of my family ever yet lived, in my memory, but my cozen Pepys in Salisbury Court.

19*th January*, 1669.—To the King's house, to see "Horace"; this the third day of its acting—a silly tragedy; but Lacy

hath made a farce of several dances—between each act, one: but his words are but silly, and invention not extraordinary, as to the dances; only some Dutchmen come out of the mouth and tail of a Hamburgh sow.

40. TUNBRIDGE WELLS

SOURCE: Lord North, *A Forest of Varieties.*

The use of Tunbridge and Epsom waters for health and cure, I first made known (1606) to London and the King's people: the Spau (Spa) is a chargeable and inconvenient journey to sick bodies, besides the many it carries out of the kingdom, and the inconvenience to religion. Much more I could say, but I rather hint than handle—rather open a door to a large prospect than give it.

SOURCE: A letter written by Sir John Chamberlain, a courtier of James I., dated Aug. 23, 1619.

. . . The waters at Tunbridge, for these 3 or 4 years have been much frequented, especially this summer, by many great persons, insomuch that they which have seen both, say it is not inferior to the Spa for good company, numbers of people, and other appurtenances.

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary.* Under date.

1661, *Aug.* 15.—I went to Tunbridge Wells, my wife being there for the benefit of her health. Walking about the solitudes, I greatly admired the extravagant turnings, insinuations, and growth of certain birch-trees among the rocks.

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary.* Under date.

1663, *July* 22.—To-morrow the King and Queen for certain go down to Tunbridge; but the King comes back again against Monday to raise the Parliament.

1666, *July* 22.—The Queen and Maids of Honour are at Tunbridge.

31*st*.—The Court empty, the King being gone to Tunbridge.

SOURCE: Count de Grammont: *Memoirs* (1664).

The Court set out . . . to pass nearly two months in the most simple and rustic, but at the same time the most agreeable and entertaining place in all Europe.

Tunbridge is at the same distance from London as Fontainbleau from Paris. All the handsome and gallant of both sexes meet here in the season for drinking the waters. The company is always numerous and always select: and as those who seek only to amuse themselves are always numerically in ascendancy over those who resort thither only from necessity, everything breathes pleasure and joy.

The visitors lodge in little dwellings, clean and convenient, separated from one another and scattered everywhere within half a league of the Wells. In the morning they assemble at the spot where the springs are situated. There is a fine avenue of shady trees, beneath which the visitors walk while they drink the waters. At one side of this avenue stretches a long row of shops, furnished with all sorts of elegant trifles, lace, stockings, and gloves, where you may amuse yourself as at the Fair. On the other side of the avenue the market is held; and as every one goes there to choose and buy his own provisions, you see nothing exposed for sale which could occasion disgust. Here are young countrywomen, fair and fresh-looking, with white linen, little straw hats, and neat shoes and stockings, who sell game, vegetables, flowers, and fruit.

You may here enjoy as good living as you wish.

Here is playing for high stakes, and love-making in abundance. When evening comes, every one quits his little

A Scene from *The Humorous Lieutenant*

Multitudes flying from London by water in boats & barges
Flying by land
Burying the dead with a bell before them.
Searchers.
Carts full of dead to bury.

The Great Plague

place to assemble in the bowling-green. There in the open air is dancing for those who like it upon turf smoother than the finest carpet in the world.

41. THE GREAT PLAGUE [1665]

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary*. Under dates.

June 7, 1665.—The hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and "Lord have mercy upon us!" writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that, to my remembrance, I ever saw. It put me into an ill conception of myself and my smell, so that I was forced to buy some roll-tobacco to smell and to chaw, which took away the apprehension.

June 10.—In the evening home to supper; and there, to my great trouble, hear that the plague is come into the City, though it hath, these three or four weeks since its beginning, been wholly out of the City; but where should it begin but in my good friend and neighbour's, Dr Burnett, in Fenchurch Street: which, in both points, troubles me mightily.

July 12*th*.—A solemn fast-day for the plague growing upon us.

July 13*th*.—Above 700 died of the plague this week.

July 20*th*.—Walked to Redriffe, where I hear the sickness is, and indeed is scattered almost everywhere, there dying 1089 of the plague this week. My Lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water home with me.

July 21*st*.—Late in my chamber, setting some papers in order; the plague growing very raging, and my apprehensions of it great.

July 22.—I to Fox-hall [Vauxhall], where to the Spring garden; but I do not see one guest there, the town being so empty of any body to come thither. . . . By coach home,

not meeting with but two coaches and but two carts from White Hall to my own house, that I could observe; and the streets mighty thin of people. . . .

August 3.—A maid servant of Mr John Wright's . . . falling sick of the plague, she was removed to an out-house, and a nurse appointed to look to her; who, being once absent, the maid got out of the house at the window, and run away. The nurse coming and knocking, and, having no answer, believed she was dead, and went and told Mr Wright so; who and his lady were in great straight what to do to get her buried. At last, resolved to go to Burntwood [Brentwood], hard by, being in the parish, and there get people to do it. But they would not: so he went home full of trouble, and in the way met the wench walking over the common, which frighted him worse than before; and was forced to send people to take her, which he did; and they got one of the pest-coaches and put her into it, to carry her to a pest-house. And, passing in a narrow lane, Sir Anthony Browne, with his brother and some friends in the coach, met this coach with the curtains drawn close. The brother, being a young man, and believing there might be some lady in it that would not be seen, and the way being narrow, he thrust his head out of his own into her coach, and to look, and there saw somebody look very ill, and in a silk dress, and stunk mightily; which the coachman also cried out upon. And presently they come up to some people that stood looking after it, and told our gallants that it was a maid of Mr Wright's carried away sick of the plague; which put the young gentleman into a fright had almost cost him his life, but is now well again.

August 20.—So away to Branford; and there, at the inn that goes down to the water-side, I 'light and paid off my post-horses, and so slipped on my shoes, and laid my things by, the tide not serving, and to church, where a dull sermon, and many Londoners. After church, to my inn, and eat

and drank, and so about seven o'clock by water, and got, between nine and ten, to Queenhive, very dark; and I could not get my waterman to go elsewhere, for fear of the plague. Thence with a lanthorn, in great fear of meeting of dead corpses, carrying to be buried; but blessed be God! met none, but did see now and then a link, which is the mark of them, at a distance. So got safe home about 10 o'clock, my people not all abed, and after supper I weary to bed.

August 21. . . . [At Greenwich].—Messengers went to get a boat for me, to carry me to Woolwich, but all to no purpose; so I was forced to walk it in the dark, at ten o'clock at night, with Sir J. Minnes's George with me, being mightily troubled for fear of the doggs at Coome farme, and more for fear of rogues by the way, and yet more because of the plague which is there, which is very strange, it being a single house, all alone from the town, but it seems they use to admit beggars, for their own safety, to lie in their barns, and they brought it to them.

August 30.—Abroad, and met with Hadley, our clerke, who, upon my asking how the plague goes, told me it encreases much, and much in our parish; for, says he, there died nine this week, though I have returned but six: which is a very ill practice, and makes me think it is so in other places; and therefore the plague much greater than people take it to be. I went forth, and walked towards Moorefields to see, God forgive my presumption! whether I could see any dead corpse going to the grave; but, as God would have it, did not. But Lord! how every body's looks, and discourse in the street, is of death, and nothing else; and few people going up and down, that the town is like a place distressed and forsaken.

September 3.—Up, and put on my coloured silk suit very fine, and my new periwigg, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because the plague was in Westminster when

I bought it; and it is a wonder what will be the fashion after the plague is done, as to periwiggs, for nobody will dare to buy any haire, for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off the heads of people dead of the plague. . . . I up to the vestry at the desire of the Justices of the Peace, in order to the doing something for the keeping of the plague from growing; but, Lord! to consider the madness of people of the town, who will, because they are forbid, come in crowds along with the dead corpses to see them buried; but we agreed on some orders for the prevention thereof. Among other stories, one was very passionate, methought, of a complaint brought against a man in the town, for taking a child from London from an infected house. Alderman Hooker told us it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious [Gracechurch] Street, a saddler, who had buried all the rest of his children of the plague, and himself and wife now being shut up in despair of escaping, did desire only to save the life of this little child; and so prevailed to have it received stark-naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it, having put it into new fresh clothes, to Greenwich; where, upon hearing the story, we did agree it should be permitted to be received and kept in the town.

October 16.—I walked to the Tower; but, Lord! how empty the streets are, and melancholy, so many poor, sick people in the streets full of sores; and so many sad stories overheard as I walk, every body talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place, and so many in that. And they tell me, that, in Westminster, there is never a physician and but one apothecary left, all being dead: but there are great hopes of a decrease this week; God send it!

December 31.—My whole family hath been well all this while, and all my friends I know of, saving my aunt Bell, who is dead, and some children of my cozen Sarah's, of the plague. But many of such as I know very well, dead; yet,

to our great joy, the town fills apace, and shops begin to be open again. Pray God continue the plague's decrease! for that keeps the Court away from the place of business, and so all goes to rack as to publick matters, they at this distance not thinking of it.

42. RICHARDSON THE FAMOUS FIRE-EATER [1672]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1672, *Oct.* 8.—I took leave of my Lady Sunderland, who was going to Paris to my Lord, now Ambassador there. She made me stay dinner at Leicester House, and afterwards sent for Richardson, the famous Fire-eater. He devoured brimstone on glowing coals before us, chewing and swallowing them; he melted a beer-glass and eat it quite up; then, taking a live coal on his tongue, he put on it a raw oyster, the coal was blown on with bellows till it flamed and sparkled in his mouth, and so remained till the oyster gaped and was quite boiled. Then, he melted pitch and wax and sulphur, which he drank down as it flamed; I saw it flaming in his mouth a good while; he also took up a thick piece of iron, such as laundresses use to put in their smoothing-boxes, when it was fiery hot, held it between his teeth, then in his hand, and threw it about like a stone; but this, I observed, he cared not to hold very long; then he stood on a small pot, and, bending his body, took a glowing iron with his mouth from between his feet, without touching the pot, or ground with his hands; with divers other prodigious feats.

43. THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON [1666]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under dates.

1666, *Sept.* 2.—This fatal night, about ten, began the deplorable fire near Fish-street, in London.

3.—I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing,

after dinner, I took coach with my wife and son and went to the Bankside in Southwark, where we beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole City in dreadful flames neare the water-side; all the houses from the Bridge, all Thames-street, and upwards towards Cheapside, down to the Three Cranes, were now consumed: and so returned exceeding astonished what would become of the rest.

The fire having continued all this night (if I may call that night which was light as day for ten miles round about, after a dreadful manner) when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very dry season; I went on foot to the same place, and saw the whole south part of the City burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Corn-hill (for it likewise kindled back against the wind as well as forward), Tower-street, Fenchurch-street, Gracious-street, and so along to Baynard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St Paul's church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that, from the beginning, I know not by what despondency, or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it; so that there was nothing heard, or seen, but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods; such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, public halls, Exchange, hospitals, monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house, and street to street, at great distances one from the other; for the heat with a long set of fair and warm weather had even ignited the air, and prepared the materials to conceive the fire, which devoured, after an incredible manner, houses, furniture, and every thing. Here, we saw the Thames covered with goods floating, all the barges and boats laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on the other side, the carts, etc., carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were

strewed with moveables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as happly the world had not seen since the foundation of it, nor can be outdone till the universal conflagration thereof. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame! The noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shreiking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like a hideous storm, and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still, and let the flames burn on, which they did, for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds, also, of smoke were dismal, and reached, upon computation, near fifty miles in length. Thus, I left it this afternoon burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly called to my mind that passage—*non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem*: the ruines resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more! Thus, I returned home.

Sept. 4.—The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple; all Fleet Street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, Warwick Lane, Newgate, Paul's-Chain, Watling Street, now flaming, and most of it reduced to ashes; the stones of Paul's flew like grenados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse, nor man, was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward. Nothing but the almighty power of God was able to stop them; for vain was the help of man.

5.—It crossed towards Whitehall; but oh! the confusion there was then at that Court! It pleased his Majesty to command me among the rest to look after the quenching of Fetter-Lane end, to preserve (if possible) that part of Holborn, whilst the rest of the gentlemen took their several posts, some at one part, and some at another (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands across), and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet been made by the ordinary method of pulling them down with engines. This some stout seamen proposed early enough to have saved nearly the whole City, but this some tenacious and avaricious men, aldermen, etc., would not permit, because their houses must have been of the first. It was, therefore, now commanded to be practised, and my concern being particularly for the Hospital of St Bartholomew, near Smithfield, where I had many wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it; nor was my care for the Savoy less. It now pleased God, by abating the wind, and by industry of the people, when almost all was lost, infusing a new spirit into them, that the fury of it began sensibly to abate about noon, so as it came no farther then the Temple westward, nor than the entrance of Smithfield, north: but continued all this day and night so impetuous toward Cripplegate and the Tower, as made us all despair; it also brake out again in the Temple; but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations were soon made, as with the former three days' consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing near the burning and glowing ruins by near a furlong's space.

The coal and wood-wharfs and magazines of oil, rosin, etc., did infinite mischief, so as the invective which a little

before I had dedicated to his Majesty and published,[1] giving warning what might probably be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the City, was looked on as a prophecy.

The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St George's Fields, and Moorfields, as far as Highgate, and several miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag, or any necessary utensils, bed or board, who from delicatenesse, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well-furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty.

In this calamitous condition, I returned with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring the distinguishing mercy of God to me and mine who, in the midst of all this ruin, was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound.

Sept. 6, *Thursday.*—I represented to his Majesty the case of the French prisoners at war in my custody, and besought him that there might be still the same care of watching at all places contiguous to unseized houses. It is not indeed imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the King and the Duke was, even labouring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen; by which he showed his affection to his people and gained theirs. Having, then, disposed of some under cure at the Savoy, I returned to Whitehall, where I dined at Mr Offley's, the groom-porter, who was my relation.

7.—I went this morning on foot from Whitehall as far as London Bridge, through the late Fleete Street, Ludgate Hill, by St Paul's, Cheapside, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moorfields, thence through Cornhill, etc., with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was: the ground under my feet so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the meantime, his Majesty got to the Tower by water, to demolish the

[1] The *Fumifugium.*

houses about the graff, which being built entirely about it, had they taken fire and attacked the White Tower, where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten down and destroyed all the bridge, but sunk and torn the vessels in the river, and rendered the demolition beyond all expression for several miles about the country.

At my return, I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly church, St Paul's, now a sad ruin, and that beautiful portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repaired by the late King) now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining entire but the inscription in the architrave, showing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defaced! It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heat had in a manner calcined, so that all the ornaments, columns, friezes, capitals, and projectures of massy Portland stone, flew off, even to the very roof, where a sheet of lead covering a great space (no less than 6 acres by measure) was totally melted; the ruins of the vaulted roof falling, broke into St Faith's, which, being filled with the magazines of books belonging to the Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consumed, burning for a week following. It is also observable that the lead over the altar at the East end was untouched, and among the divers monuments, the body of one Bishop remained intire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable Church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in the Christian world, besides near 100 more. The lead, iron-work, bells, plate, etc., melted; the exquisitely wrought Mercers' Chapel, the sumptuous Exchange, the august fabric of Christ Church, all the rest or the Companies' Halls, splendid buildings, arches, entries, all in dust; the fountains dried up and ruined, whilst the very waters remained boiling; the voragos of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke, so that in five or six miles traversing about, I did

not see one load of timber unconsumed, nor many stones but what were calcined white as snow. The people, who now walked about the ruins, appeared like men in some dismal desert, or rather, in some great city laid waste by a cruel enemy; to which was added the stench that came from some poor creatures' bodies, beds, and other combustible goods. Sir Thomas Gresham's statue, though fallen from its niche in the Royal Exchange, remained entire, when all those of the King's, since the Conquest, were broken to pieces; also the standard in Cornhill, and Queen Elizabeth's effigies, with some arms on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast iron chains of the city streets, hinges, bars, and gates of prisons, were many of them melted and reduced to cinders by the vehement heat. Nor was I yet able to pass through any of the narrower streets, but kept the widest; the ground and air, smoke and fiery vapour, continued so intense, that my hair was almost singed, and my feet unsufferably surbated. The bye-lanes and narrower streets were quite filled up with rubbish, nor could one have possibly known were he was, but by the ruins of some church or hall, that had some remarkable tower, or pinnacle, remaining. I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispersed and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss; and, though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief, which to me appeared a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His Majesty and Council indeed took all imaginable care for their relief, by proclamation for the country to come in, and refresh them with provisions. In the midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarm begun that the French and the Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not only landed, but even entering the City. There was, in truth, some days before great suspicion of those two nations

joining; and now, that they had been the occasion of firing the town. This report did so terrify, that on a sudden there was such an uproar and tumult that they ran from their goods, and taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopped from falling on some of those nations whom they casually met, without sense, or reason. The clamour and peril grew so excessive, that it made the whole Court amazed, and they did with infinite pains and great difficulty reduce and appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards, to cause them to retire into the fields again, where they were watched all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the affright abated, they now began to repair into the suburbs about the City, where such as had friends, or opportunity, got shelter for the present; to which his Majesty's proclamation also invited them.

Still, the plague continuing in our parish, I could not without danger adventure to our church.

10.—I went againe to the ruins; for it was now no longer a city.

Sept. 13.—I presented his Majesty with a survey of the ruins, and a plot for a new City, with a discourse on it; whereupon, after dinner, his Majesty sent for me into the Queen's bed-chamber, her Majesty and the Duke onely being present; they examined each particular, and discoursed on them for near an hour, seeming to be extremely pleased with what I had so early thought on. The Queen was now in her cavalier riding-habit, hat and feather, and horseman's coate, going to take the air.

16.—I went to Greenewich Church, where Mr Plume preached very well from this text: "Seeing, then, all these things shall be dissolved," etc., taking occasion from the late unparalelled conflagration to remind us how we ought to walk more holy in all manner of conversation.

27.—Dined at Sir Wm. D'Oyly's, with that worthy gentleman, Sir John Holland, of Suffolk.

Oct. 10.—This day was ordered a general Fast through the Nation, to humble us on the late dreadful conflagration, added to the plague and warr, the most dismal judgments that could be inflicted; but which indeed we highly deserved for our prodigious ingratitude, burning lusts, dissolute Court, profane and abominable lives, under such dispensations of God's continued favour in restoring Church, Prince, and People from our late intestine calamities, of which we were altogether unmindful, even to astonishment. This made me resolve to go to our parish assemblie, where our Doctor preached on Luke xix. 41: piously applying it to the occasion. After which, was a collection for the distressed losers in the late fire.

44. THE POWER AND WEALTH OF ENGLAND [1677]

SOURCE: Sir W. Petty's *Political Arithmetic*, published in 1690; spelling modernised.

That the power and wealth of England hath increased this last forty years.

It is not much to be doubted, but that the territories under the king's dominions have increased; forasmuch as New England, Virginia, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, Tangier and Bombay, have since that time, been either added to His Majesty's territories, or improved from a desert condition, to abound with people, buildings, shipping, and the production of many useful commodities.

And as for the land of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as it is not less in quantity, than it was forty years since; so it is manifest that by reason of the draining of fens, watering of dry grounds, improving of forests, and commons, making of heathy and barren grounds, to bear sainfoin and clover grass, meliorating, and multiplying several sorts of

fruits and garden-stuff, making some rivers navigable, etc.; I say it is manifest, that the land in its present condition, is able to bear more provision, and commodities, than it was forty years ago.

Secondly, although the People in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which have extraordinarily perished by the Plague, and Sword, within this last forty years do amount to about 300,000, above what have died in the ordinary way: yet the ordinary increase by generation of 10,000,000 which doubles in 200 years, as hath been shown by the observators upon the bills of mortality, may in forty years (which is a fifth part of the same time) have increased one-fifth part of the whole number, or 2,000,000. . . .

As for Housing, the streets of London itself speaks it, I conceive it is double in value in that city, to what it was forty years since; and for housing in the country, they have increased at Newcastle, Yarmouth, Norwich, Exeter, Portsmouth, Cowes; Dublin, Kinsale, Londonderry and Coleraine in Ireland, far beyond the proportion of what I can learn have been dilapidated in other places. For in Ireland, where the ruin was greatest, the housing (taking all together) is now more valuable than forty years ago, nor is this to be doubted, since housing is now more splendid, than in those days, and the number of dwellers is increased, by near one-fifth part; as on the last paragraph is set forth.

As for Shipping, His Majesty's Navy is now triple, or quadruple, to what it was forty years since, and before the *Sovereign* was built. . . .

Besides there are employed in the Guinea and American trade, above 40,000 ton of shipping per annum; which trade in those days was inconsiderable. . . .

Moreover if rented lands and houses, have increased; and if trade hath increased also: it is certain that money which payeth those rents, and driveth on trade, must have increased also.

Lastly, I leave it to the consideration of all observers, whether the number, and splendour of Coaches, Equipage, and Household Furniture, hath not increased, since that time: to say nothing of the Postage of Letters, which have increased from one to twenty, which argues the increase of business, and negotiation. . . .

45. FORMATION OF THE GRENADIERS [1678]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1678, 29 *June*.—Returned with my Lord by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the new-raised army encamped, designed against France, in pretence, at least, but which gave umbrage to the Parliament. His Majesty and a world of company were in the field, and the whole armie in battalia; a very glorious sight. Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers, called *Grenadiers*, who were dexterous in flinging hand grenados, every one having a pouch full; they had furred caps with coped crowns like Janizaries, which made them look very fierce, and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools. Their clothing being likewise piebald, yellow and red.

46. THE PENNY POST [1685]

SOURCE: Misson's *Travels over England*. (English edition 1719.)

I.

Every two hours you may write to any part of the City . . . , or Suburbs, he that receives it pays a Penny, and you give nothing when you put it into the Post; but when you write into the Country, both he that writes and he that receives pay each a Penny. It costs no more for any Bundle weighing but a Pound, than for a small letter, provided the Bundle is not worth more than ten shillings. You may safely send Money, or any other thing of Value, by this Conveyance,

if you do but take care to give the Office an Account of it. It was one Mr William Dockwra [1] that set up this new Post, about the beginning of the Reign of King Charles II., and at first enjoy'd the Profits himself; but the Duke of York, who had then the Revenue of the General Post, commenc'd a Suit against him, and united the Penny-Post to the other.

II.

SOURCE: Defoe's *Tour Through Great Britain.*

The Penny-post is a branch of it [The Post Office], and a most useful addition to trade and business: for by it letters are delivered at the remotest corners of the town, almost as soon as they could be sent by a messenger, and that from four, five, six to eight times a day, according as the distance of the place makes it practicable: insomuch that you may send a letter from Limehouse in the East, to the farther part of Westminster, for a penny, several times in the same day; and to the neighbouring villages, as Kensington, Hammersmith, Chiswick, etc., Westward: Newington, Islington, Kentishtown, Hampstead, Holloway, Highgate, etc., Northward; to Newington-butts, Camberwell, etc., Southward; and to Stepney, Poplar, Bow, Stratford, Deptford, Greenwich, etc., Eastward, once a day.

Nor are you tied up to a single piece of paper, as in the General Post Office; but any packet under four ounces goes at the same price.

47. FAIR ON THE FROZEN THAMES [1684]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary.* Under date.

1684, *Jan.* 9.—I went across the Thames on the ice, now become so thick as to bear not only streets of booths, in

[1] This is a mistake. Robert Murray, an upholsterer, originated the idea of a Penny Post in London in 1681; Dockwra's system was established in 1683.

Officer Pikeman Musketeer

Grenadier Guards, 1660

CHARLES, KING.
JAMES DUKE.
KATHARINE, QUEEN.
MARY DUTCHESS.
ANN, PRINCESSE
GEORGE, PRINCE.
HANS IN KELDER.

London: Printed by *G: Croom* on the ICE, on the River of *Thames*, *January* 31. 1684.

HENRY, Earl of Clarendon,
FLORA, Countess of Clarendon.
EDWARD, Lord Cornbury.

London: Printed by *G. Croom*, on the ICE, on the River of *Thames*, *February* 2. 1684.

Frost Fair on the Thames, 1684

which they roasted meat, and had divers shops of wares, quite across as in a town, but coaches, carts, and horses passed over.

16*th*.—The Thames was filled with people and tents, selling all sorts of wares as in the City.

24*th*.—The frost continuing more and more severe, the Thames before London was still planted with booths in formal streets, all sorts of trades and shops furnished, and full of commodities, even to a printing-press, where the people and ladies took a fancy to have their names printed, and the day and year set down when printed on the Thames; this humour took so universally, that it was estimated the printer gained £5 a day, for printing a line only, at sixpence a name, besides what he got by ballads, etc. Coaches plied from Westminster to the Temple, and from several other stairs to and fro, as in the streets, sleds, sliding with skates, a bull-baiting, horse and coach-races, puppet-plays and interludes, cooks, tippling . . . so that it seemed to be a bacchanalian triumph, or carnival on the water, whilst it was a severe judgment on the land, the trees not only splitting as if lightning-struck, but men and cattle perishing in divers places, and the very seas so locked up with ice, that no vessells could stir out or come in. The fowls, fish, and birds, and all our exotic plants and greens, universally perishing. Many parks of deer were destroyed, and all sorts of fuel so dear, that there were great contributions to preserve the poor alive. Nor was this severe weather much less intense in most parts of Europe, even as far as Spain and the most Southern tracts. London, by reason of the excessive coldness of the air hindering the ascent of the smoke, was so filled with the fuliginous steam of the sea-coal, that hardly could one see across the streets, and this filling the lungs with its gross particles, exceedingly obstructed the breast, so as one could scarcely breathe. Here was no water to be had from the pipes and engines, nor could the brewers and

divers other tradesmen work, and every moment was full of disastrous accidents.

48. AN OLD-TIME GARDEN [1685].

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1685, *Oct.* 22.—I accompanied my Lady Clarendon to her house at Swallowfield in Berks . . . this house is after the ancient building of honourable gentlemen's houses, when they kept up ancient hospitality, but the gardens and waters as elegant as it is possible to make a flat by art and industry, and no mean expense, my lady being so extraordinarily skill'd in the flowery part, and my lord, in diligence of planting; so that I have hardly seen a seat which shows more tokens of it than what is to be found here, not only in the delicious and rarest fruits of a garden, but in those innumerable timber trees in the ground about the seate, to the greatest ornament and benefit of the place. There is one orchard of 1000 golden, and other cider pippins; walks and groves of elms, limes, oaks, and other trees. The garden is so beset with all manner of sweet shrubbs, that it perfumes the air. The distribution also of the quarters, walks, and parterres, is excellent. The nurseries, kitchen-garden full of the most desireable plants; two very noble orangeries well furnished; but, above all, the canal and fishponds, the one fed with a white, the other with a black running water, fed by a quick and swift river, so well and plentifully stored with fish, that for pike, carp, bream, and tench, I never saw any thing approaching it. We had at every meal carp and pike of size fit for the table of a Prince, and what added to the delight was, to see the hundreds taken by the drag, out of which, the cook standing by, we pointed out what we had most mind to, and had carp that would have been worth at London twenty shillings a-piece. The waters are flagged about with *Calamus aromaticus*, with which my lady has

hung a closet, that retains the smell very perfectly. There is also a certain sweet willow and other exotics : also a very fine bowling-green, meadow, pasture, and wood ; in a word, all that can render a country-seat delightful.

49. SCENES FROM THE TRIAL OF ALICE LISLE [1685]

SOURCE : *State Trials.*

Alice Lisle was the daughter and heiress of Sir White Bechenshaw of Moyles Court, Ellingham, Hants, the scene of the principal facts referred to in this trial. . . . In 1630 she became the second wife of John Lisle ; he was called to the bar, and became a bencher of the Middle Temple. He sat in the Long Parliament for Winchester, was one of the managers of Charles I.'s trial, and is said to have drawn up the form of the sentence. He became President of the High Court of Justice in 1654, sat in the Parliament of that year, and was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Exchequer. He appears to have been a consistent follower of Cromwell, and became a member of his House of Lords in 1657. He left England on the Restoration and fled to Lausanne, where he was murdered by an Irish Royalist in 1664. . . . Alice Lisle, commonly called Lady Lisle, was tried for high treason at Winchester on 27th August 1685, before Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, during his notorious ' Bloody Assize.' The charge against her was that knowing one George Hicks, a popular dissenting minister, to have been in Monmouth's army at Sedgemoor, she entertained and concealed him in her house at Moyles Court. To convict her it was necessary to prove that Hicks had been in Monmouth's army, that she knew it, and that she entertained and concealed him. The prosecution was conducted by Pollexfen, Mundy and Corriton, as far at least as it was not conducted by Jeffreys. Lady Lisle, according to the custom of the time, was not allowed counsel, though no

doubt she had opportunities for receiving legal advice during the course of the trial.

. . . . . .

Mrs Lisle's Defence

Mrs Lisle is then called upon for her defence, and proceeds to say that had she been tried in London Lady Abergavenny and other persons of quality could have testified with what detestation she had spoken of the rebellion, and that she had been in London till Monmouth was beheaded. She had denied Nelthorp's being in the house because of her fear of the soldiers,

who were very rude and violent, and could not be restrained by their officers from robbery and plundering my house. And I beseech your lordship to make that construction of it; and I humbly beg of your lordship not to harbour an ill opinion of me, because of those false reports that go about of me relating to my carriage towards the old king, that I was any ways consenting to the death of King Charles I., for, my lord, that is as false as God is true; my lord, I was not out of my chambers all the day in which that king was beheaded, and I believe I shed more tears for him than any woman then living did. . . .

She did not know Nelthorp, and only took Hicks because he was a nonconformist minister, and there being warrants out against all such, she was willing to shelter him from them.

She then called *Creed*, who said that he heard Nelthorp say that Lady Lisle did not know of his coming, and did not know his name, and that he did not tell his name till he was taken.

Lady Lisle then concluded her defence by fresh protestations of her loyalty to the King.

But though I could not fight for him myself, my son did, he was actually in arms on the King's side in this business. I instructed him always in loyalty, and sent him thither; it was I that bred him up to fight for the King.

Judge Jeffrey's summing up

Jeffreys begins his summing up by reminding the jury of the terms of their oath and reminding them of their duty :—

That not anything can move you either to compassion of the prisoner on the one hand, or her allegations and protestations of innocence ; nor, on the other hand, to be influenced by anything that comes from the court, or is insinuated by the learned counsel at the bar, but that you will entirely consider what evidence has been given to you, and being guided by that evidence alone, you that are judges of the fact will let us know the truth of that fact, by a sincere and upright verdict.

He goes on to dwell on the wickedness of Monmouth's rebellion, and the mercy of God as shown in the restoration of Charles II. After dwelling on this and on the blessing of having asked so steadfast a supporter of the Church of England as James II., he proceeds to discuss the actual facts of the case.

This person, Mrs Lisle, the prisoner at the bar, she is accused for receiving and harbouring this person : and gentlemen, I must tell you for law, of which we are the judges, and not you, That if any person be in actual rebellion against the King and another person (who really and actually was not in rebellion) does receive, harbour, comfort and conceal him that was such, a receiver is as much a traitor as he who indeed bore arms : We are bound by our oaths and consciences, to deliver and declare to you what is law ; and you are bound by your oaths and consciences to deliver and declare to us, by your verdict, the truth of the fact.

Gentlemen, that he [Hicks] was there in rebellion, is undeniably and unquestionably proved : That there are sufficient testimonies to satisfy you that this woman did receive and harbour him, is that which is left to your consideration ; and, for that the proofs lie thus : And truly I am sorry to have occasion for repeating the circumstances of the proof ; I mean the great art that has been used to conceal it ; how difficult a thing it was to come at it ; what time has been spent in endeavouring to find out truth in a fellow, that in defiance of all admonition, threats and persuasion, would prevaricate and shuffle to conceal that truth ;

nay lie, and forswear himself to contradict it. But out of pure Christian charity, as I told him, so I tell you I do heartily pray, and all good Christians I hope will join with me in it, to the God of infinite mercy that He would have mercy upon his soul, upon which he hath contracted so great a guilt by the impudence of his behaviour and pertinacious obstinacy in those falsehoods which he hath made use of in this case. . . .

First he says, he came upon an errand from a man, he knows not whom, to my Lady Lisle's house; and thither he is brought by one Barter; and when he comes there he tells her, he comes in the name of one Hicks, who desired to be entertained there. Then she asks the question, whether Hicks had been in the army; and he told her he did not know; and he swears now he did not; But at last it came out that it was to entertain Hicks and another person; but it should seem that other persons were not named; and Barter tells you that Hicks and another person (who afterwards proved to be Nelthorp) are promised to be entertained, and ordered to come in the evening. But not to go backward and forward, as he has done in his evidence, denying what he afterwards acknowledged that he saw anybody besides a little girl; that he pulled down the hay out of the rack for his horse; that he eat anything but cake and cheese that he brought with him from home; that he was ever made to drink, or to eat or drink in the house, or ever meddled or made with anybody in the house. At last we are told that Carpenter met with him; and came out with a lanthorn and candle, took care of his horse, carried him into the room where Hicks and Nelthorp were, and the prisoner at the bar, Mrs Lisle; there they all supped together; there they fell into discourse; there Nelthorp's name was named, and they talked of being in the army, and of the fight; and so it is all come out, and makes a full and positive evidence.

But then suppose there was no more than the other evidence, and that the fellow remain in an hard-hearted obstinacy, then you are to consider the circumstances even from his first evidence, that this was after the rebellion was all over; for it seems during the rebellion she was in London, and it was notoriously known that the King's forces were in pursuit of the rebels, and this without any positive proof would be in itself a sufficient testimony to convince any considerate person, that she was to conceal those she ought not to conceal; because she directed the particular time wherein they should come, and that was at night; and no prudent person would receive strangers in the night, and give such directions in such a season without some extraordinary ground for it. When they came there, she provided a supper for them; and

you see what care is taken, that the woman only is permitted to bring that supper to the door, and the husband must set it on the table; nobody is permitted to attend there but he. Works of darkness always desire to be in the dark; works of rebellion and such like are never done in the light.

But then comes that honest fellow Barter (I call him so because he appears so to be, and he ought to be remembered with a great remark for his honesty), he tells you, he conducted him to the house, and what discourse passed there in his hearing. The prisoner asked him what countryman he was, and whether he was a brick-maker, and promised him so many acres of land in Carolina. The fellow upon observation and consideration, found himself under a great load, could not eat or sleep quietly, as men that have honest minds are uneasy under such things; falsehood and treason, and hypocrisy are a heavy load: and blessed be God, things were by this means discovered; for he goes and tells Col. Penruddock; and withal Dunne swears to Barter, it was the bravest job he had ever had in his life; whereas in the beginning of his story, he would have told you a strange story of a black beard and I do not know what, and that he got not one groat by it; that he gave the man 2s. 6d. out of his own pocket, and was so industrious as when he knew the way no farther, that he would hire one himself to show him the way, and all for nothing but only for the kindness he had for a black beard. . . .

God Almighty is a just God, and it may be worth considering (especially by her) how God has been pleased to make use of him as the instrument in this business; and she would do likewise well to consider the finger of God in working upon the heart of that man Barter, who was employed in all this affair, and that all the truth has been told by Nelthorp, that blackest of villains Nelthorp, that would have murdered the King and his royal brother; that he was one of those barbarous, malicious assassinates in that black conspiracy, and outlawed, should be harboured, by one that pretends a love for the royal family, and entertained and discoursed with at night about being in the army; yet that he and that other villain Hicks, who pretends to religion, and to be a preacher of the gospel, but is found in rebellion, and in the company of traitors, should be denied the next morning.

I hope they themselves are all by this time satisfied truth will come out, and I hope you will not be deceived by any specious pretences. . . .

Gentlemen, upon your consciences be it; the preservation of the government, the life of the King, the safety and honour of our

religion, and the discharge of our consciences as loyal men, good christians, and faithful subjects, are at stake; neither her age or her sex are to move you who have nothing else to consider but the evidence of the fact you are to try. I charge you therefore, as you will answer it at the bar of the last judgment, where you and we must all appear, deliver your verdict according to conscience and truth. . . . [The jury at first fail to agree.]

Then the jury laid their heads together for near a quarter of an hour, and at length agreed, and being called over, delivered in this verdict by the foreman.

THE VERDICT

Clerk of Arraigns.—Alice Lisle, hold up thy hand. Gentlemen of the jury, look upon the prisoner, how say ye? Is she guilty of the treason whereof she stands indicted, or not guilty.

Foreman.—Guilty.

Clerk of Arraigns.—What goods or chattels, lands or tenements had she?

Foreman.—None that we know of.

Clerk of Arraigns.—Look at her, jailor, she is found guilty of high treason; and prepare yourself to die.

Then the verdict was recorded.

Lord Chief-Justice.—Gentlemen, I did not think I should have any occasion to speak after your verdict, but finding some hesitancy and doubt among you, I cannot but say I wonder it should come about; for I think in my conscience the evidence was as full, and plain as could be, and if I had been among you, and she had been my own mother, I should have found her guilty. . . .

THE SENTENCE

The Court awards:

That you Mrs Lisle be conveyed from hence to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, where your body is to be burnt alive till you be dead. And may the Lord have mercy on your soul.

This sentence was afterwards commuted to beheading.

She was accordingly beheaded on the afternoon of the 2nd of September 1685, in the market-place of Winchester.

In 1689, on the petition of her daughters, Mrs Lloyd and Mrs Askew, her attainder was annulled by Act of Parliament on the ground that the verdict was "injuriously extorted and procured by the menaces and violences and other illegal practices of George Lord Jeffreys, baron of Wem, then Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench."

BOOK FIVE

1688–1837

READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

THE REVOLUTION

1. THE ENGLISH COUNTRY GENTLEMAN OF 1688

SOURCE: Macaulay, *History of England*, Chap. 3.

A COUNTRY gentleman who witnessed the revolution was probably in receipt of about a fourth part of the rent which his acres now yield to his posterity. He was, therefore, as compared with his posterity, a poor man, and was generally under the necessity of residing, with little interruption, on his estate. To travel on the Continent, to maintain an establishment in London, or even to visit London frequently, were pleasures in which only the great proprietors could indulge. It may be confidently affirmed that of the squires whose names were in [King Charles's] Commissions of Peace and Lieutenancy not one in twenty went to town once in five years, or had ever in his life wandered so far as Paris. Many lords of manors had received an education differing little from that of their menial servants. The heir of an estate often passed his boyhood and youth at the seat of his family with no better tutors than grooms and gamekeepers, and scarce attained learning enough to sign his name to a mittimus.[1] If he went to school and to college, he generally returned before he was twenty to the seclusion of the old hall, and there, unless his mind were very happily

[1] Mittimus—a warrant granted for sending to prison a person charged with a crime.

constituted by nature, soon forgot his academical pursuits in rural business and pleasures. His chief serious employment was the care of his property. He examined samples of grain, handled pigs, and, on market-days, made bargains over a tankard with drovers and hop-merchants. His chief pleasures were commonly derived from field-sports. . . . His language and pronunciation were such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns. His oaths, coarse jests, and scurrilous terms of abuse, were uttered with the broadest accent of his province. It was easy to discern, from the first words which he spoke, whether he came from Somersetshire or Yorkshire. He troubled himself little about decorating his abode, and, if he attempted decoration, seldom produced anything but deformity. The litter of a farmyard gathered under the windows of his bedchamber, and the cabbages and gooseberry-bushes grew close to his hall door. His table was loaded with coarse plenty; and guests were cordially welcome to it. But, as the habit of drinking to excess was general in the class to which he belonged, and as his fortune did not enable him to intoxicate large assemblies daily with claret or canary, strong beer was the ordinary beverage. The quantity of beer consumed in those days was indeed enormous. For beer then was to the middle and lower classes, not only all that beer now is, but all that wine, tea, and ardent spirits now are. It was only at great houses, or on great occasions, that foreign drink was placed on the board. The ladies of the house, whose business it had commonly been to cook the repast, retired as soon as the dishes had been devoured, and left the gentlemen to their ale and tobacco. The coarse jollity of the afternoon was often prolonged till the revellers were laid under the table.

It was very seldom that the country gentleman caught glimpses of the great world; and what he saw of it tended rather to confuse than enlighten his understanding. His

opinions respecting religion, government, foreign countries, and former times, having been derived, not from study, from observation, or from conversation with enlightened companions, but from such traditions as were current in his own small circle, were the opinions of a child. He adhered to them, however, with the obstinacy which is generally found in ignorant men accustomed to be fed with flattery. His animosities were numerous and bitter. He hated Frenchmen and Italians, Scotchmen and Irishmen, Papists and Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, Quakers and Jews. Towards London and Londoners he felt an aversion which more than once produced important political effects. His wife and daughter were in tastes and acquirements below a housekeeper or a stillroom maid of the present day. They stitched and spun, brewed gooseberry wine, cured marigolds, and made the crust for the venison pasty.

From this description it might be supposed that the English esquire of the seventeenth century did not materially differ from a rustic miller or ale-house keeper of our time. There are, however, some important parts of his character still to be noted, which will greatly modify this estimate. Unlettered as he was and unpolished, he was still in some most important points a gentleman. He was a member of a proud and powerful aristocracy, and was distinguished by many both of the good and of the bad qualities which belong to aristocrats. His family pride was beyond that of a Talbot or a Howard. He knew the genealogies and coats-of-arms of all his neighbours, and could tell which of them had assumed supporters without any right, and which of them were so unfortunate as to be great-grandsons of aldermen. He was a magistrate, and, as such, administered gratuitously to those who dwelt around him a rude patriarchal justice, which, in spite of innumerable blunders and of occasional acts of tyranny,

was yet better than no justice at all. He was an officer of the train-bands; and his military dignity, though it might move the mirth of gallants who had served a campaign in Flanders, raised his character in his own eyes and in the eyes of his neighbours. Nor, indeed, was his soldiership justly a subject of derision. In every county there were elderly gentlemen who had seen service which was no child's play. One had been knighted by Charles I. after the battle of Edgehill. Another still wore a patch over the scar which he had received at Naseby. A third had defended his old house till Fairfax had blown in the door with a petard. The presence of these old Cavaliers, with their old swords and holsters, and with their old stories about Goring and Lunsford, gave to the musters of militia an earnest and warlike aspect, which would otherwise have been wanting. Even those country gentlemen who were too young to have themselves exchanged blows with the cuirassiers of the parliament had, from childhood, been surrounded by the traces of recent war, and fed with stories of the martial exploits of their fathers and uncles. Thus the character of the English esquire of the seventeenth century was compounded of two elements which we seldom or never find united. His ignorance and uncouthness, his low tastes and gross phrases, would, in our time, be considered as indicating a nature and a breeding thoroughly plebeian. Yet he was essentially a patrician, and had, in large measure, both the virtues and the vices which flourish among men set from their birth in high place, and used to respect themselves and to be respected by others. It is not easy for a generation accustomed to find chivalrous sentiments only in company with liberal studies and polished manners to image to itself a man with the deportment, the vocabulary, and the accent of a carter, yet punctilious on matters of genealogy and precedence, and ready to risk his life rather than see a stain

cast on the honour of his house. It is, however, only by thus joining together things seldom or never found together in our own experience, that we can form a just idea of that rustic aristocracy which constituted the main strength of the armies of Charles I, and which long supported with strange fidelity the interest of his descendants.

The gross, uneducated, untravelled country gentleman was commonly a Tory; but, though devotedly attached to hereditary monarchy, he had no partiality for courtiers and ministers. He thought, not without reason, that Whitehall was filled with the most corrupt of mankind, and that the great sums which the House of Commons had voted to the crown since the Restoration part had been embezzled by cunning politicians, and part squandered on buffoons. . . . His stout English heart swelled with indignation at the thought that the government of his country should be subject to French dictation. Being himself generally an old Cavalier, or the son of an old Cavalier, he reflected with bitter resentment on the ingratitude with which the Stuarts had requited their best friends. Those who heard him grumble at the neglect with which he was treated . . . would have supposed him ripe for rebellion. But all this ill-humour lasted only till the throne was really in danger. It was precisely when those whom the sovereign had loaded with wealth and honours shrank from his side, that the country gentlemen, so surly and mutinous in the season of his prosperity, rallied round him in a body. Thus after murmuring twenty years at the misgovernment of Charles II they came to his rescue in his extremity, when his own Secretaries of state and the Lords of his own Treasury had deserted him, and enabled him to gain a complete victory over the opposition; nor can there be any doubt that they would have shewn equal loyalty to his brother James, if James would, even at the last moment, have refrained from outraging their strongest feeling. For there was one in-

stitution, and one only, which they prized even more than hereditary monarchy; and that institution was the Church of England. Their love of the Church was not, indeed, the effect of study or meditation. Few among them could have given any reason, drawn from Scripture or ecclesiastical history, for adhering to her doctrines, her ritual, and her polity; nor were they, as a class, by any means strict observers of that code of morality which is common to all Christian sects. But the experience of many ages proves that men may be ready to fight to the death, and to persecute without pity, for a religion whose creed they do not understand, and whose precepts they habitually disobey. . . .

When the lord of a Lincolnshire or Shropshire manor appeared in Fleet Street, he was as easily distinguished from the resident population as a Turk or a Lascar. His dress, his gait, his accent, the manner in which he gazed at the shops, stumbled into the gutters, ran against the porters, and stood under the waterspouts, marked him out as an excellent subject for the operations of swindlers and banterers. Bullies jostled him into the kennel. Hackney coachmen splashed him from head to foot. Thieves explored with perfect security the huge pockets of his horseman's coat, while he stood entranced by the splendour of the Lord Mayor's show. Money-droppers, sore from the cart's tail, introduced themselves to him, and appeared to him the most honest friendly gentlemen that he had ever seen. . . . If he asked his way to St James's, his informants sent him to Mile End. If he went into a shop, he was instantly discerned to be a fit purchaser of everything that nobody else would buy, of second-hand embroidery, copper rings, and watches that would not go. If he rambled into any fashionable coffee-house, he became a mark for the insolent derision of fops and the grave waggery of Templars. Enraged and mortified, he soon returned to his mansion,

and there, in the homage of his tenants, and the conversation of his boon-companions, found consolation for the vexations and humiliations he had undergone. There he was once more a great man, and he saw nothing above himself except when at the assizes he took his seat on the bench near the Judge, or when at the muster of the militia he saluted the Lord Lieutenant.

2. DEVELOPMENTS IN NAVAL WARFARE

SOURCE: Evelyn, *Diary.*

1690, *March* 7.—I din'd with Mr Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, where was that excellent Shipwright and Seaman (for so he had ben and also a Commiss[r] of the Navy) Sir Anthony Deane. Amongst other discourse, and deploring the sad condition of our Navy, as now govern'd by unexperienc'd men since this Revolution, he mention'd what exceeding advantage we of this nation had by being the first who built Fregats,[1] the first of which ever built was that vessell which was afterwards call'd The Constant Warwick, and was the work of Pet of Chatham, for a trial of making a vessell that would sail swiftly; it was built with low decks, the guns lying neere the water, and was so light and swift of sailing, that in a short time he told us she had, ere the Dutch war was ended, taken as much money from privateers as would have laden her; and that more such being built did in a yeare or two scour the Channel from those of Dunkirk and others which had exceedingly infested it. He added that it would be the best and onely infallible expedient to be masters of the sea, and able to destroy the greatest navy of any enemy, if instead of building huge greate ships and second and third rates, they would leave off building such high decks, which were for nothing but to gratify Gentlemen Commanders, who must have all their

[1] Fregats—frigates.

effeminate accommodations, and for pomp; that it would be the ruin of our fleets if such persons were continued in command, they neither having experience nor being capable of learning, because they would not submit to the fatigue and inconvenience which those who were bred seamen would undergo, in those so otherwise usefull swift fregats. These being to encounter the greatest ships would be able to protect, set on, and bring off, those who should manage the fire-ships; and the Prince who should first store himselfe with numbers of such fire-ships would, thro' the help and countenance of such fregats, be able to ruin the greatest force of such vast ships that could be sent to sea, by the dexterity of working those light, swift ships to guard the fire-ships. He concluded there would shortly be no other method of sea-fight, and that great ships and men of war, however stor'd with guns and men, must submit to those who should encounter them with far less number. He represented to us the dreadfull effect of these fire-ships; that he continually observ'd in our late maritime war with the Dutch, that when an enemy's fire-ship approach'd, the most valiant commander and common sailors were in such consternation that tho' then, of all times, there was most need of the guns, boomes, etc., to keep the mischief off, they grew pale and astonish'd, as if of a quite other mean soul, that they slunk about, forsook their guns and work as if in despair, every one looking about to see which way they might get out of their ship, tho' sure to be drown'd if they did so. This he said was likely to prove hereafter the method of sea-fight, likely to be the misfortune of England if they continued to put Gentlemen Commanders over experienc'd Seamen, on account of their ignorance, effeminacy and insolence.

3. WHY THE NAVY LACKS SEAMEN [1692]

SOURCE: A Commissioner's Note Book. Published in *The Naval Miscellany*, Vol. II. (Laughton.)

Reflecting upon the state of this nation as to naval strength in 1652, when the Dutch first made war upon us, we, at beginning of that war having but a small navy, ended the same with more than a double strength, notwithstanding the many smart fights with them before we could obtain the mastery of the sea. And considering the great number of ships of war built since for a further reinforcement, do find ourselves at this day much inferior to the French in naval strength, particularly in the number of seamen, they having no navy then and wanting those natural helps England have to breed seamen by the Flanders, Holland, Hamburg, Baltic, and Norway trade, North Sea, Island [Iceland], Westmony [Westmanna, a little island on the South coast of Iceland], and herring fishery; our New England, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Carolina, and Carribbee Islands, increased by Jamaica, our Guinea, Spanish, Portugal, and French as well as coasting, and coal trade, our fishery for the river Thames, besides that of watermen and west country bargemen, afford England many more helps to breed seamen than the French.

And also considering the Dutch, their double war (with us) since and the French king's invasion upon them by land and sea in 1672, which greatly impoverished them, do yet retain the same vigour for war and opinion of their neighbours for naval strength and conduct that ever they had, it is visible to me that this defect amongst a troop of other causes, as bad and short victualling, changing one specie for another with giving an equivalent, keeping seamen long without their pay, turning them into other ships with a captain they love not, keeping them over long from their families, not curing the sick with the King's medicines nor well cared for to go abroad after recovery, not eating

fresh meat and roots while in port, crowding too many men in a ship; not taking care to get seamen a proper specie of slop clothes, nor a sufficient quantity, over gunning ships in the winter so as seamen seldom lie dry in foul weather; not letting seamen have any plunder or prize money or preferment, and preferring Volunteer gentlemen and soldiers in their accommodation aboard before officers and seamen—as Lord Torrington by lodging soldiers in the middle and seamen on the lower gun deck, preferring the ignorant and least able, ashore for money and at sea for power.

Punishing seamen severely for slight causes springs chiefly from gentlemen commanding in the navy, who for the most part, meet with more accidents (too many of their own making) than a seaman captain.

4. LONDON STREET-CRIES

SOURCE: Addison, *Spectator*, No. 251, Dec. 18, 1711.

There is nothing which more astonishes a foreigner and frights a Country Squire, than the CRIES of London. My good friend Sir ROGER often declares that he cannot get them out of his head, or go to sleep for them the first week that he is in Town. On the contrary, Will Honeycomb calls them the RAMAGE DE LA VILLE and prefers them to the sounds of larks and nightingales, with all the musick of the fields and woods.

. . . The CRIES of London may be divided into Vocal and Instrumental. As for the latter they are at present under a very great disorder. A Freeman of London has the privilege of disturbing a whole street for an hour together, with the twancking of a brass-kettle or a frying-pan. The Watchman's thump at midnight startles us in our beds, as much as the breaking in of a thief. . . .

Vocal cries are of a much larger extent, and indeed so full of incongruities and barbarisms, that we appear a dis-

tracted city to foreigners, who do not comprehend the meaning of such enormous outcries. Milk is generally sold in a note above E-la,[1] and in sounds so exceeding shrill, that it often sets our teeth on edge. The Chimney-sweeper is confined to no certain pitch; he sometimes utters himself in the deepest base, and sometimes in the sharpest treble; sometimes in the highest, and sometimes in the lowest note of the gamut. The same observation might be made on the Retailers of Small-coal, not to mention *broken* Glasses or Brick-dust. In these therefore, and the like cases, it should be my care to sweeten and mellow the voices of these itinerant tradesmen, before they make their appearance in our streets, as also to accommodate their cries to their respective wares: and to take care in particular, that those may not make the most noise who have the least to sell, which is very observable in the vendors of Card-matches, to whom I cannot but apply that old proverb of MUCH CRY BUT LITTLE WOOL.

Some of these last mentioned musicians are so very loud in the sale of these trifling manufactures, that an honest splenetick gentleman of my acquaintance bargained with one of them never to come into the street where he lived. But what was the effect of this contract? Why, the whole tribe of Card-matchmakers which frequent that quarter, passed by his door the very next day, in hopes of being bought off after the same manner.

It is another great imperfection in our London Cries, that there is no just time nor measure observed in them. Our News should indeed be published in a very quick time, because it is a commodity that will not keep cold. It should not, however, be cried with the same precipitation as FIRE. Yet this is generally the case. A bloody battle alarms the town from one end to another in an instant. Every motion of the French is published in so great an hurry,

[1] Elah—E natural, "lah" in the scale of G major.

that one would think the enemy were at our gates. . . . Nor must I omit under this head those excessive alarms with which several boisterous rustics infest our streets in Turnip-Season; and which are more inexcusable, because these are wares which are in no danger of cooling upon their hands.

There are others who affect a very slow time, and are in my opinion much more tuneable than the former. The Cooper in particular swells his last note in an hollow voice, that is not without its harmony; nor can I forbear being inspired with a most agreeable melancholy, when I hear that sad and solemn air with which the publick are very often asked, if they have *any* Chairs *to mend?* . . .

It might likewise deserve our most serious consideration, how far, in a well regulated city, those humourists are to be tolerated, who, not contented with the traditional cries of their forefathers, have invented particular songs and tunes of their own: such as was not many years since, the Pastry-man, commonly known by the name of the Colly-Molly-Puff; and such as is at this day the vendor of Powder and Washballs, who, if I am rightly informed, goes under the Name of Powder-Watt.

I must not here omit one particular absurdity which runs thro' this whole vociferous generation, and which renders their Cries very often not only incommodious, but altogether useless to the publick. I mean, that idle accomplishment which they all of them aim at, of crying so as not to be understood. Whether or no they have learned this from several of our affected singers, I will not take upon me to say; but most certain it is, that people know the wares they deal in rather by their tunes than by their words; insomuch that I have sometimes seen a county boy run out to buy apples of a bellows-mender, and ginger-bread from a grinder of knives and scissors. . . .

(The following list of London Street cries is taken from

Buy my Dutch Bilkets

Long Threed Laces Long & Strong

A Merry new Song

New Rivers Water

London Street Cries

The

SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.

The Headlong Fools Plunge into South Sea Water,
But the Sly Long-heads Wade with Caution a'ter,
The First are Drowning but the Wiser Last,
Venture no Deeper than the Knees or Wast.
1720.

The Gathering of the Golden Fruit.

The South Sea Bubble

Habits and Cryes of the City of London, 1709, by Marcellus Lauron, quoted in Ashton's *Social Life in the reign of Queen Anne.*)

A Bed Matt or a Door Matt.
A Merry New Song.
Any Bakeing Peares.
Any Card matches or Savealls.
Any Kitchin Stuffe have you maids.
Any work for John Cooper.
Buy a fine Table Basket.
Buy a Fork or a Fire Shovel.
Buy a Rabbet a Rabbet.
Buy a new Almanack.
Buy any Wax or Wafers.
Buy my Dish of great Eeles.
Buy my Dutch Biskets.
Buy my Four Ropes of Hard Onyons.
Colly Molly Puffe.
Crab Crab any Crab.
Delicate Cowcumbers to pickle.
Fair Lemons and Oranges.
Fine Writeing Inke.
Four for six pence Mackrell.
Four paire for a Shilling Holland Socks.
Hott Bak'd Wardens[1] Hott.
Knives Combs or Inkhornes.
Knives or Cisers to Grinde.
Lilly white Vinegar 3 pence a quart.
Londons Gazette here.
Long Threed Laces Long and Strong.
New River Water.
Old Chaires to mend.
Old Satten Old Taffety or Velvet.
Old Shooes for Some Broomes.
Pretty Maids Pretty Pins Pretty Women.
Remember the Poor Prisoners.
Ripe Speragas.
Ripe Strawberryes.
Six pence a pound fair Cherryes.
Twelve Pence a Peck Oysters.

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

5. THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE [1720]

SOURCE: Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole*, Vol. I.

The South Sea Company owed its origin to a chimerical project, formed by Harley, in 1711, for the purpose of restoring the public credit, which had been greatly affected by the dismission of the Whig Ministry. . . . In order to allure the creditors with the hopes of advantages from a new commerce, the monopoly of a trade to the South Sea, or coast of Spanish America, was granted to a company

[1] Pies.

composed of the several proprietors of this funded debt, which being incorporated by act of parliament, took the appelation of the South Sea Company. The great advantages to be derived from this commerce, had been held forth and exaggerated from the time of our first voyages to Spanish America . . . a rumour, industriously circulated, that four ports on the coasts of Peru and Chili, were to be ceded by Spain, inflamed the general ardour. . . .

But the grand benefits of this commerce were never realized. The first voyage . . . was not made till 1717, and in the following year, the trade was suppressed by the rupture with Spain. Their effects, factories, and servants were seized and detained. . . . Such was the state of the South Sea Company, when the Ministry, instead of attempting to lessen the national incumbrances, by the only just and successful means, a clear and inviolable sinking fund, adopted the visionary schemes of projectors, and gave to the South Sea Company the power of fascinating the minds of the public, and spreading an infatuation similar to that which had recently involved France in national bankruptcy. The grand point which Government had in view was the reduction of the irredeemable annuities, created in the reigns of William and Anne, . . . amounting nearly to £800,000 per annum, as no effectual measures could be adopted to lessen the public debts, whilst these annuities remained irredeemable.

In order to effect this liquidation, the minister accepted proposals from the South Sea Company, for reducing the debts to a redeemable state : as the object of the ministers who had previously and secretly arranged the scheme with the directors, was to surprise the house of commons into the measure of granting this extensive privilege to the South Sea Company, and of preventing competition, they entertained the most sanguine hopes of success, from the specious advantages which they held forth to the public

as the necessary consequences. They accordingly laid the business before a committee of the house of commons. . . .

In consequence of these resolutions, the bank of England laid a proposition before the commons, offering still more advantageous terms. . . . The South Sea Company had offered to give £3,500,000; but the bank, having bid £5,500,000, the Company were so irritated, that at a general court, the directors were instructed to obtain the preference, *cost what it would*, and they succeeded, by the offer of paying the enormous sum of £7,567,500 as a gratuity to the public. This proposal being laid before the house of commons, was warmly opposed by Walpole, who spoke in favour of the bank. . . . The preference was given to the South Sea, and the bill was afterwards carried by a majority of more than 3 to 1. . . .

The general frenzy in favour of the South Sea speculation had risen to an enormous height. The compensation to to South Sea Company, for the immediate payment of the £7,567,500, seemingly for no value received, was to be drawn from the profits of their scheme. . . .

The company could not fulfil its engagements with government, and pay so large a sum as between seven and eight millions, without taking advantage of the general infatuation, and availing themselves of that spirit of pecuniary enterprise, which had seized the public mind. Imaginary advantages were accordingly held forth; groundless and mysterious reports were circulated concerning valuable acquisitions in the South Sea, and hidden treasures; dividends of ten, thirty, and even fifty per cent. were voted, which the directors knew could never be paid; and for which there was no foundation.

The promoters of the scheme highly exaggerated the profits. . . . The public being intoxicated with these ideas, the stock, which at the close of the books at Christmas, 1719, was only at 126, rose, at the opening of the first subscription,

on the 14 of April, to above £300. . . . As the frenzy spread, and the desire of making rapid fortunes became contagious, the stock successively rose to above 1000 per cent. . . . The sanguine cupidity, which marked this speculation, was not confined to the South Sea scheme: the whole nation became stock jobbers and projectors. . . .

These delusive projects received their first check from the power to which they owed their birth: The directors of the South Sea Company, jealous of their success, . . . obtained writs . . . against the conductors of bubbles, and thus put an end to them. But in opening the eyes of the deluded multitude, they took away the main prop of their own tottering edifice. Suspicion once excited was not to be suppressed, and the public . . . declined all farther purchases of stock. . . . Amongst the numbers who suffered by these speculations, were not only persons of the first rank, but merchants and traders of every class, and bankers.

When the public distress was arrived at a most alarming height, and despair pervaded all ranks of people, to Walpole every eye was directed, as the only person capable of affording assistance, under the pressure of immediate necessity. . . .

[Walpole] did not, however, shrink from the trial; but engaged in the task with that ardour and assiduity which marked his character. . . . He adopted a plan for ingrafting a certain portion of the South Sea stock in the bank and East India company. . . . The king and cabinet having ratified the scheme . . . he [submitted] it to parliament. . . . In its passage through the commons, it was in some respects altered . . . but the principal features were preserved.

1721.—During the period in which this scheme was carrying through both houses of parliament, the loudest and most violent clamours were excited as well against the directors, as against the ministers who had promoted the South Sea act, which was considered as the sole cause of

the national distress. . . . All the managers were indiscriminately involved in the same guilt; the very name of a director was synonymous with every species of fraud and villainy. Petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in all parts of the kingdom, were presented to the house, crying for justice due to an injured nation against the villainy of these peculators, and the sufferers looked up for indemnification from the confiscation of their property, or for vengeance in the punishment of their guilt.

. . . The spirit by which Walpole was directed, and the principles by which he acted, during the whole progress of this delicate business, are laid down in the speech from the throne, on the prorogation of parliament, which he drew up. "The common calamity, occasioned by the wicked execution of the South Sea Scheme, was become so very great before your meeting, that the providing proper remedies for it was very difficult; but it is a great comfort to me to observe, that public credit now begins to recover; which gives me the greatest hopes that it will be entirely restored, when all the provisions you have made for the end, shall be duly put into execution. I have great compassion for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty; and have readily given my assent to such bills as you have presented to me, for punishing the authors of our late misfortunes, and for obtaining the restitution and satisfaction due to those who have been injured by them, in such a manner as you judged proper. I was at the same time willing and desirous, by my free and general pardon, to *give ease and quiet to the rest of my subjects, many of whom may, in such a general infatuation, have been unwarily drawn in to transgress the laws.*"

Thus at length, by the ability, address, and perseverance of Walpole, the fatal project of the South Sea was converted into a national benefit; the distresses are forgotten, and the advantages remain.

. . . . . .

The following are some of the Bubble Companies, which, on 12th July, 1720, were declared to be illegal by the Lords Justices assembled in Privy Council and were accordingly abolished :—

1. For building and rebuilding houses throughout all England. Capital £3,000,000.

2. For supplying the town of Deal with fresh water.

3. For making of iron and steel in Great Britain.

4. For improving the land in the county of Flint. Capital £1,000,000.

5. For trading in hair.

6. For carrying on an undertaking of great advantage: but nobody to know what it is.

7. For paving the streets of London. Capital £2,000,000.

8. For furnishing funerals to any part of Great Britain.

9. For insuring of horses. Capital £2,000,000.

10. For a grand dispensary. Capital £3,000,000.

11. For a wheel for perpetual motion. Capital £1,000,000.

12. For insuring and increasing children's fortunes.

13. For insuring to all masters and mistresses the losses they may sustain by servants. Capital £2,000,000.

14. For the importation of timber from Wales. Capital £2,000,000.

15. For the transmutation of quicksilver into a malleable fine metal.

16. For buying and fitting out ships to suppress pirates.

17. For erecting loan-offices for the assistance and encouragement of the industries. Capital £2,000,000.

18. For improving the art of making soap.

19. For extracting silver from lead.

20. For bleaching coarse sugars, without the use of fire or loss of substance.

Etc., etc.

6. A PLAYBILL OF 1720

SOURCE: Advertisement quoted in Macfarlane and Thomson's *Comprehensive History of England*, Vol. III.

These are to give notice that Belsize [a stately building in front of the highway of Hampstead] is now opened for the whole season, and that all things are most commodiously concerted for the reception of gentlemen and ladies; the park, wilderness, and gardens being wonderfully improved, and filled with variety of birds, which compose a most melodious and delightsome harmony. Every morning, at seven o'clock, the music begins to play, and continues the whole day through; and any persons inclined to walk and divert themselves in the morning, may as cheaply breakfast there, on tea or coffee, as in their own chambers. And for the convenience of single persons or families who reside at Hampstead, there are coaches prepared to ply betwixt the two places, which, by the least notice given, shall attend at their lodgings or houses for sixpence per passenger; and for the security of his guests, there are twelve stout fellows completely armed to patrol betwixt London and Belsize, to prevent the insults of highwaymen or footpads which may infest the road.

7. LONDON LIFE IN 1714

SOURCE: Macky, *Journey through England*, 1714–29. Letter IX.

I am lodged in the street called Pall Mall, the ordinary residence of all strangers. If you would know our manner of living it is thus:—We rise by nine, and those that frequent great men's levees find entertainment at them till eleven or, as in Holland, go to tea-tables. About twelve the *beau monde* assembles in several coffee or chocolate houses, the best of which are the Cocoa Tree and White's Chocolate-houses, St James's, the Smyrna, Mrs Rochford's and the

British Coffee-houses; and all these so near to one another that in less than an hour you see the company of them all. We are carried to these placed in chairs, which are here very cheap, a guinea a week, or one shilling per hour, and your chair-men serve you for porters to run on errands. . . . If it is fine weather we take a turn in the park till two, when we go to dinner, and if it be dirty, you are entertained at picquet or basset at White's, or you may talk politics at Smyrna, or St James's. I must not forget to tell you that the parties have their different places, where, however, a stranger is always well received, but a Whig will no more go to the Cocoa Tree or Osinda's than a Tory will be seen at the Coffee-houses of St James's. The Sets generally go to the British, and a mixture of all sorts to the Smyrna.

Ordinaries are not so common here as abroad, but there are good French ones in Suffolk Street. The general way here is to make a party at the Coffee house to go to dine at the tavern, where we sit till six, when we go to the play, except you are invited to the table of some great man. After the play the best company generally go to Tom's and Will's Coffee houses near adjoining, where there is playing at picquet and the best of conversation till midnight. . . .

8. ON THE MANNERS OF THE BATH VISITORS

SOURCE: Steel's essay in *The Guardian*, No. 174, dated Sept. 30, 1713.

In public assemblies there are generally some envious splenetic people, who having no merit to procure respect, are ever finding fault with those who distinguish themselves. This happens more frequently at those places, where this season of the year calls persons of both sexes together for their health. I have had reams of letters from Bath, Epsom, Tunbridge, and Saint Wenefrede's Well; wherein I could observe that a concern for honour and virtue proceeded from the want of health, beauty, or fine petticoats. A lady,

who subscribes herself Eudosia, writes a bitter invective against Chloe the celebrated dancer; but I have learned, that she herself is lame of the rheumatism. Another, who hath been a prude ever since she had the small-pox, is very bitter against the coquettes . . .; and a sharp wit hath sent me a keen epigram against the gamesters; but I took notice that it was not written upon gilt paper.

Having had several strange pieces of intelligence from the Bath; as, that more constitutions were weakened there than repaired; . . . I resolved to look upon the company there, as I returned lately out of the country. It was a great jest to see such a grave ancient person as I am, in an embroidered cap and brocade night-gown. But, besides the necessity of complying with the custom, by these means I passed undiscovered, and had a pleasure I much covet, of being alone in a crowd. It was no little satisfaction to me, to view the mixt mass of all ages and dignities upon a level, partaking of the same benefits of nature, and mingling in the same diversions. I sometimes entertained myself by observing what a large quantity of ground was hidden under spreading petticoats; and what little patches of earth were covered by creatures with wigs and hats, in comparison to those spaces that were distinguished by flounces, fringes and falbullows. . . .

Having thus prepared thee, gentle reader, I shall not scruple to entertain thee with a panegyric upon the gamesters. I have indeed spoken incautiously heretofore of that class of men; but I should forfeit all title to modesty, should I any longer oppose the common sense of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom. Were we to treat all those with contempt, who are the favourites of blind chance, few levees would be crowded. It is not the height of sphere in which a man moves, but the manner in which he acts, that makes him truly valuable. When therefore I see a gentleman lose his money with serenity, I recognise in him all the

great qualities of a philosopher. If he storms, and invokes the gods, I lament that he is not placed at the head of a regiment. The great gravity of the countenances round Harrison's table, puts me in mind of a council board : and the indefatigable application of the several combatants furnishes me with an unanswerable reply to those gloomy mortals, who censure this as an idle life. In short, I cannot see any reason why gentlemen should be hindered from raising a fortune by those means, which at the same time enlarge their minds. Nor shall I speak dishonourably of some little artifice or finesse used upon these occasions ; since the world is so just to any man who is become a possessor of wealth, as not to respect him the less, for the methods he took to come by it.

Upon considerations like these, the ladies share in these diversions. I must own, that I receive great pleasure in seeing my pretty countrywomen engaged in an amusement which puts them upon producing so many virtues. Hereby they acquire such a boldness, as raises them nearer that lordly creature, man. Here they are taught such contempt of wealth, as may dilate their minds, and prevent many curtain lectures. Their natural tenderness is a weakness here easily unlearned ; and I find my soul exalted, when I see a lady sacrifice the fortune of her children with as little concern as a Spartan or a Roman dame. In such a place as the Bath I might urge, that the casting of a die is indeed the properest exercise for a fair creature to assist the waters ; not to mention the opportunity it gives to display the well-turned arm, and to scatter to advantage the rays of the diamond. But I am satisfied, that the gamester ladies have surmounted the little vanities of showing their beauty, which they so far neglect, as to throw their features into violent distortions, and wear away their lilies and roses in tedious watching, and restless elucubrations. I should rather observe, that their chief passion is

The Pump Room at Bath in the Eighteenth Century

Newington in the Eighteenth Century

an emulation of manhood, which I am the more inclined to believe, because, in spite of all slanders, their confidence in their virtue keeps them up all night, with the most dangerous creatures of our sex. It is to me an undoubted argument of their ease of conscience, that they go directly from church to the gaming-table; and so highly reverence play as to make it a great part of their exercise on Sundays. . . .

The physicians here are very numerous, but very good-natured. To these charitable gentlemen I owe, that I was cured, in a week's time, of more distempers than I ever had in my life. They had almost killed me with their humanity. A learned fellow-lodger prescribed me a little something, at my first coming, to keep up my spirits; and the next morning I was so much enlivened by another, as to have an order to bleed for my fever. I was proffered a cure for the scurvy by a third, and had a recipe for the dropsy gratis before night. In vain did I modestly decline these favours; for I was awakened early in the morning by an apothecary, who brought me a dose from one of my well-wishers. I paid him, but withal told him severely, that I never took physic. My landlord hereupon took me for an Italian merchant that suspected poison; but the apothecary, with more sagacity, guessed that I was certainly a physician myself. . . .

9. SOME ENGLISH TOWNS IN 1725

SOURCE: Defoe, *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain.*

LONDON. Mr Maitland says that in the year 1732, he measured the length and breadth of this city and suburbs with a perambulator, and found the extent as follows:

Length, from the upper end of *Knightsbridge* in the west to *Robin-Hood-Lane*, at the lower end of *Poplar* in the east, seven miles and a half.

Length, from *Robin-Hood-Lane*, back again, coasting the

river westward to *Peterborough-house*, at the south end of *Millbank-Row*, above the horse ferry, Westminster, six miles and three quarters.

Breadth, from *Jeffery's Almshouses* in *Kingsland Road*, to the upper end of Camberwell Road, *Newington Butts*, three miles.

Within this extensive area there were computed to be 5,099 streets, lanes, squares, etc., composed of 95,968 houses; but so many of the old streets have been since altered, and so many new streets added, that however right this computation was at that time it can now be no longer so.

We see several villages, formerly standing, as it were, in the country, and at a great distance, now joined to the streets by continued buildings, and more making haste to meet in like manner. For example, [1] *Deptford* . . . [2] *The Town of Islington* . . . [3] *Of Mile End* . . . [4] *Newington-Butts, in Surrey.* . . .

The *Mews* near Charing Cross, where the King's horses are kept, and the Coaches of State set up, is a very large kind of Square; but the buildings being old, and unworthy of the situation, as well as of the use, are, as 'tis said, to be pulled down. The principal range at the upper end is already finished; and when the other parts are completed, it will be one of the finest things, of its kind, in Europe.

I cannot forbear particularly to mention one beauty, because it is an honour to our country; and that is the great Piazza in *Covent Garden*, the noblest square in *Europe*. . . .

To these must be added the *Adelphi* building near the *Strand*, which forms a very stupendous mass of new and large houses; beneath which are vast subterranean passages, whereby carriages of all kinds have communication with the *Thames*; and the immense warehouses, which form the base of the streets, etc. are rendered commodious. . . .

Nor should the *Pantheon* be forgotten, which in taste,

magnificence and novelty of design and decoration, may be pronounced superior to anything of the kind in *Europe*, its principal room is truly magnificent, it is lighted by a centrical dome of a considerable magnitude; the galleries round this room are supported by columns formed of a new-discovered composition, which rivals the most beautiful marble both in colour and hardness. . . .

The gates of the city of *London* were seven, besides posterns.

Ludgate was a prison for debt, for freemen of the city only. It is now taken down, in order to open the passage for the convenience of both cities.

Newgate is a prison for criminals . . . and for debtors.

Moorgate . . . a beautiful Gateway, the arch being near twenty foot high, . . . for the city Train'd Bands to go through . . . with their pikes advanc'd. It has likewise been pulled down. . . .

Cripplegate . . . very old and made but a mean figure, is now taken down.

Bishopsgate, though newly rebuilt, yet not with the least elegance, is also taken down.

Aldersgate and *Aldgate* made handsome appearances, but were [in 1761], both taken down, as well as Ludgate, Cripplegate and Bishopsgate.

Temple-bar is the only gate which is erected at the extent of the City Liberties; and this was occasioned by some needful ceremonies, as at the proclaiming any King or Queen of *England*, at which time the gates are shut. The Herald at Arms knocks hard at the door; the Sheriffs of the city call back, asking, Who is there? Then the herald answers, *I come to proclaim*, etc. according to the name of the Prince who is to succeed to the Crown, and repeating the titles of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, etc., at which the Sheriffs open, and bid them welcome; and so they go on to the *Exchange*, where they make the last proclamation. . . .

The City of *London*, and parts adjacent, as also all the *South* of *England*, is supplied with coals, [by sea], called therefore *sea-coal*, from *Newcastle upon Tyne* and from the coast of *Durham* and *Northumberland*. This trade . . . is esteemed the great nursery of our best seamen. . . . The quantity of coals, [which one year with another, are] burnt and consumed in and about this City, is supposed to be about Five hundred thousand chalder, every chalder containing thirty-six bushels, and generally weighing about thirty hundred weight.

All these coals are bought and sold [at this Exchange;] and, though sometimes, especially in case of a war, or of contrary winds, a fleet from 500 to 700 sail of ships comes up the river at a time, yet they never want a market. The brokers or buyers of these coals are called *Crimps*; . . . the vessels they load their ships with at *New Castle* are called *Keels*; and the ships that bring them are called *Cats* and *Hags*, or *Hag boats*, *Fly boats* and the like.

Let us now mention something briefly in relation to the yearly births and burials of this extended city. . . . I shall only take notice, that whereas the general number of the burials in the year 1666, and farther back, were from 17,000 to 19,000 in a year, the yearly bill for the year 1759 amounted as follows :—

Christened	14,253
Buried	19,604

Here is to be observed, that the number of burials exceeding so much the number of births, is, because as it is not the number born, but the number christened, that are set down, which is taken from the Parish Register; so all the children of dissenters of every sort, *Protestant*, *Popish* and *Jewish*, are omitted, also all the children of foreigners, *French*, *Dutch*, etc., which are baptised in their own churches, and all the children of those who are so poor, that they cannot get them

registered: so that if a due estimate be made, the births may be well supposed very much to exceed the burials. . . .

WHITSTABLE, a place of little consequence in former times, is now, from its being a kind of port to Canterbury, become a town of brisk trade, and a great deal of business. . . .

MARGATE is now become a place of great resort for sea-bathing, where every accommodation is prepared that the place will admit of to render immersion in the salt water pleasant and efficacious. Hence, from a small town, inhabited only by fishermen and smugglers, it is now increased to a place of very considerable magnitude, and adorned with houses fit for the reception of people of the first rank, and with places of amusement and recreation which will satisfy those who are the most addicted to them. . . .

BRIGHTHELMSTONE [1] is now become a polite place, by the annual resort of the gentry in the summer season, as being the nearest sea-port to London, and very convenient for sea-bathing; for the accommodation of whom there have been two handsome ball-rooms built, and several machines for bathing. The gentry may also have the use of two circulating libraries. . . .

SHOREHAM a town chiefly inhabited by ship-carpenters, ship-chandlers, and all the several trades depending upon the building and fitting up of ships, which is their chief business. . . . Vessels of a large size, some for the use of the navy, but most for the merchants service are here constructed. . . . *Shoreham* is justly noted for sailors, and for neat and stout sea-boats.

ISLE OF WIGHT. On the west side of the island are the *Needles*, which consist of several large chalky rocks, one of which, that was almost two hundred feet in height from its base, fell down about three years ago.

CROYDON has a great corn-market, but chiefly for *oats* and *oatmeal* for the service of *London*. The town is large and

[1] Brighthelmstone—Brighton.

full of citizens from *London*: . . . it is the ancient palace of the archbishops of *Canterbury*, and several of them lie buried in the church here, which is reckoned the largest and handsomest in the county; particularly archbishop *Whitgift*, who not only repair'd the palace, but built and endowed the famous hospital (which is for a Warden and 28 men and women, poor decayed housekeepers of this town, and of *Lambeth*), and the free school. . . .

DARLINGTON . . . is a large, considerable market town, of great resort, and well supplied. . . . It is noted for the linen manufacture; but it particularly excels in huckabacks of ten quarters wide, which are made no where else in *England*, and of which, as well as other linen cloth, it sends up large quantities to London. A good many tammys and other worsted goods are now made here.

10. IMPRESSIONS OF ENGLAND IN 1730

SOURCE: Don Manoel Gonzales, *Voyage to Great Britain* [*circa* 1730]. In John Pinkerton, *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 1808–14, Vol. II.

First its advantages. It is a great, rich, and powerful kingdom. 2. Separated by the sea from other countries, so that it cannot be attacked by other nations, but with great trouble and danger; and, on the contrary, the English may easily and probably with success attack other countries. 3. This island is very convenient for trade, being so situated upon a streight,[1] that ships going either east or west are obliged to pass through it. 4. And besides a safe and deep coast, which is as it were an universal harbour, there are also many sea-ports and havens, artificial and natural; so that the English by their situation can extend their trade into all parts of the world, and if they be not sole masters of the trade, no other nation is able to dispute it with them but the Dutch. 5. Another thing contributes also very

[1] Streight—strait [the English Channel].

much to enrich England, viz. the raw silks they bring from other countries, and which they export when they are wrought and changed into stuffs; the same thing they observe about their wool, and even it is a capital crime to export it unwrought; for if the French or Dutch could have the English wool with ease, there is no doubt but they would export a great quantity, whereby great numbers of English families would be impoverished, who now live very handsomely; for as the French and Dutch journeymen have not so great wages, and are more diligent than the English, it is certain that few people would buy from England, what they might have cheaper and as good, and as fine, in France or Holland.

But there is another thing that renders England rich, viz. the liberty of conscience, granted and allowed to every nation, whereby great numbers of foreigners are invited to come and trade here sooner than in Spain and other countries, where liberty of conscience is not allowed. 2. No European country can boast of having such a good form of government. The property of chattels and goods being not precarious as in other countries; so that when a man by his industry gets an estate, his children if he please, and not his lord, shall inherit it. 3. Another thing which contributes very much to the enriching of England is, that it is forbidden to carry away above 10£ in specie. 4. No oak must be exported, which is very good for building of ships, as not being apt to split when cannon balls pierce it.

The defects of England may be thus reduced: one thing is very prejudicial to their trade, viz. that they eat a great quantity of meat, and are naturally too much addicted to ease; so that they are obliged to put on board their ships as many more men and provisions as the Dutch. 2. Though the English are very fond of money, and consequently easy to be bribed, yet they despise a moderate gain; whereas the Dutch, being content with a reasonable advantage,

get more goods to be transported from one place to another, than the English. 3. The English are very much subject to some particular diseases, especially the rickets, the scurvy, and the consumption; the first incident to children, the scurvy to most people more or less, and the consumption to many; all of them proceeding chiefly from the constitution of the air, the rickets from its moistness, the scurvy from its saltness, and the consumption from its grossness, and from the too fast living of people, wherefore it is very common in London. . . . There is perhaps no country where rheums and coughs are more predominant, especially in winter, which are often attended with ill consequences, if not timely prevented: agues and rheumatisms are also very rife, especially near the sea; but fevers and bloody-fluxes are not so frequent here as in hot countries. . . . Lastly, lawsuits are here a very common distemper, which by the great number of lawyers are often spun to a great length, to the prejudice of good neighbourhood, if not to the utter ruin of families.

11. POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS IN 1730

SOURCE: As No. 10.

Letters and packets are dispatched from hence [The Post Office in London] every Monday to France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Flanders, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Kent, and the Downs.

Every Tuesday to the United Netherlands, Germany, Swedeland, Denmark, and to all parts of England, Scotland and Ireland.

Every Wednesday to Kent only, and the Downs.

Every Thursday to France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and all parts of England and Scotland.

Every Friday to the Austrian and United Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and to Kent and the Downs.

Every Saturday to all parts of England, Scotland and Ireland.

The post goes also every day to those places where the court resides, as also to the usual stations and rendezvous of his majesty's fleet, as the Downs, Spithead, and to Tunbridge during the season for drinking the waters, etc.

Letters and packets are received from all parts of England and Scotland, except Wales, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; from Wales every Monday and Friday; and from Kent and the Downs every day.

His Majesty keeps constantly, for the transport of the said letters and packets, in times of peace,

Between England and France, three packet-boats; Spain, one in a fortnight; Portugal, one ditto; Flanders, two packet-boats; Holland, three packet-boats; Ireland, three packet-boats.

And at Deal, two packet-boats for the Downs.

Not to mention the extraordinary packet-boats in time of war with France and Spain, to the Leeward Islands, etc.

A letter containing a whole sheet of paper is conveyed 80 miles for 3d., and two sheets 6d., and an ounce of letters but 1/-. And above 80 miles a single letter is 4d., a double letter 8d. and an ounce 1s. 4d.

12. THE DIET OF A BLUE COAT BOY

SOURCE: As No. 10.

The children are dieted in the following manner: They have every morning for their breakfast bread and beer, at half an hour past six in the morning in the summer time, and at half an hour past seven in the winter. On Sundays they have boiled beef and broth for their dinners, and for their suppers legs and shoulders of mutton. On Tuesdays and Thursdays they have the same dinners as on Sundays, that is, boiled beef and broth; on the other days no flesh

meat, but on Mondays milk-porridge, on Wednesdays furmity,[1] on Fridays old pease and pottage, on Saturdays water-gruel. They have roast beef about twelve days in the year, by the kindness of several benefactors, who have left, some £3 some 50s *per annum*, for that end. Their supper is bread and cheese, or butter for those that cannot eat cheese; only Wednesdays and Fridays they have pudding-pies for supper.

The diet of these children seems to be exceeding mean and sparing; and I have heard some of their friends say, that it would not be easy for them to subsist upon it without their assistance. However, it is observed they are very healthful; that out of eleven or twelve hundred, there are scarce ever found twelve in the sick ward; and that in one year, when there were upwards of eleven hundred in this hospital, there were not more than fifteen of them died. Besides, their living in this thrifty parsimonious manner, makes them better capable of shifting for themselves when they come out into the world.

13. THE BLUE-COAT BOY

SOURCE: Charles Lamb, *Recollections of Christ's Hospital*, 1813.

The Christ's Hospital or Blue-coat boy, has a distinctive character of his own, as far removed from the abject qualities of a common charity-boy as it is from the disgusting forwardness of a lad brought up at some other of the public schools. There is *pride* in it, accumulated from the circumstances which I have described as differencing him from the former; and there is a *restraining modesty*, from a sense of obligation and dependence, which must ever keep his deportment from assimilating to that of the latter. His very garb, as it is antique and venerable, feeds his self-respect; as it is a badge of dependence, it restrains the natural petulance of

[1] Furmity—hulled wheat boiled in milk and seasoned.

that age from breaking out into overt-acts of insolence. This produces silence and a reserve before strangers, yet not that cowardly shyness which boys mewed up at home will feel; he will speak up when spoken to, but the stranger must begin the conversation with him. Within his bounds he is all fire and play; but in the streets he steals along with the self-concentration of a young monk. He is never known to mix with other boys, they are a sort of laity to him. All this proceeds I have no doubt, from the continual consciousness which he carries about him of the difference of his dress from that of the rest of the world.

14. THE BIRTH OF METHODISM

SOURCE: Wesley, *Journal*. (Ed. Curnock. 8 volumes. The Epworth Press).

In my return to England, January 1738 (from Georgia), being in imminent danger of death, and very uneasy on that account, I was strongly convinced that the cause of that uneasiness was unbelief, and that the gaining a true, living faith, was the one thing needful for me. But still I fixed not this faith on its right object: I meant only faith in God, not faith in or through Christ. Again, I knew not that I was wholly void of this faith; but only thought I had not enough of it. So that when Peter Böhler, whom God prepared for me as soon as I came to London, affirmed of true faith in Christ (which is but one) that it had those two fruits inseparably attending it, "Dominion over sin, and constant peace from a sense of forgiveness," I was quite amazed, and looked upon it as a new gospel. But I was not willing to be convinced of this, therefore I disputed with all my might, and laboured to prove that faith might be where these were not, especially where the sense of forgiveness was not. . . . Besides, I well saw, no one could have such a sense of forgiveness and not feel it. But I felt it not. If then there was no faith without this, all my pre-

tensions to faith dropped at once. When I met Peter Böhler again, he consented to put the dispute upon the issue which I desired, viz. Scripture and experience. When . . . I considered the Word of God, comparing them together, endeavouring to illustrate the obscure by the plainer passages, I found they all made against me. I could not (yet) allow it to be true, till I found some living witnesses of it. He replied, he could show me such at any time; if I desired it, the next day. And accordingly the next day, he came with three others, all of whom testified of their own personal experience that a true living faith in Christ is inseparable from a sense of pardon for all past and freedom from all present sins. . . . I was now thoroughly convinced, and by the grace of God, I resolved to seek it unto the end. . . . I asked P. Böhler . . . "Whether I ought not to refrain from teaching others?" He said "No; do not hide in the earth the talent God hath given you." Accordingly I spoke clearly and fully at Blendon to Mr Delamotte's family of the nature and fruits of faith. Mr Boughton and my brother were there. . . . My brother was very angry and told me, "I did not know what mischief I had done by talking thus." And indeed it did please God then to kindle a fire, which I trust shall never be extinguished. . . . P. Böhler walked with me and exhorted me not to stop short of the grace of God. At Gerrard's Cross I plainly declared to those whom God gave into my hands, "the faith as it is in Jesus."

Monday, May 1, 1738.—The return of my brother's illness obliged me to hasten to London. In the evening I found him at James Hutton's better as to his health than I expected; but strongly averse from what he called "the new faith." This evening our little Society began, which afterwards met in Fetter Lane. Our fundamental rules were as follows:

In obedience to the command of God by St James, and by the advice of Peter Böhler, it is agreed by us,

1. That we will meet together once a week to confess our faults one to another, and pray one for another, that we may be healed.

2. That the persons so meeting be divided into several *bands*, or little companies, none of them consisting of fewer than five or more than ten persons.

3. That every one in order speak as freely, plainly, and concisely as he can, the real state of his heart, with his several temptations and deliverances, since the last time of meeting.

4. That all the bands have a conference at 8 every Wednesday evening, begun and ended with singing and prayer.

5. That any one who desire to be admitted into the society be asked, What are your reasons for desiring this? Will you be entirely open, using no kind of reserve? Have you any objection to any of our orders? (which may then be read).

6. That when any new member is proposed, every one present speak clearly and freely whatever objection he has to him.

7. That those against whom no reasonable objection appears be, in order for their trial, formed into one or more distinct bands, and some person agreed on to assist them.

8. That after two months' trial, if no objection then appear, they may be admitted into the society.

Wed. 3.—My brother had a long and particular conversation with Peter Böhler, and it now pleased God to open his eyes; so that he also saw clearly what was the nature of that one true living faith, whereby alone, "through grace, we are saved." . . .

I continued thus to seek [this freedom from sin]—though with strange indifference, dullness and coldness, and usually

frequent relapses into sin—till Wednesday, May 24. . . . In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street; where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. . . . while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death . . . I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart.

Thursday, 15*th March*, 1739.—During my stay [in London] I was fully employed between our own society in Fetter Lane and many others, where I was continually desired to expound; so that I had no thought of leaving London, when I received, after several others, a letter from Mr Whitefield, and another from Mr Seward, entreating me in the most pressing manner to come to Bristol without delay.

. . . . . .

Wed. 28.—My journey was proposed to our society in Fetter Lane. . . . We . . . all agreed to decide it by lot. And by this it was determined I should go. . . .

Thurs., *March* 29.—I left London, and in the evening expounded to a small company at Basingstoke.

Sat. 31.—In the evening I reached Bristol, and met Mr Whitefield there. I could scarce reconcile myself at first to this strange way of preaching in the fields, of which he set me an example on Sunday; having been all my life (till very lately) so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin if it had not been done in a church.

Mon. 2.—At four in the afternoon I submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in the ground adjoining to the city, to about 3000 people. . . .

Sunday 8.—At seven in the morning I preached to about

a thousand persons at Bristol, and afterwards to about fifteen hundred . . . in Kingswood.

March 19, 1742.—I rode . . . to Pensford [about 5 miles from Bristol] at the earnest request of several serious people. The place where they desired me to preach was a little green spot near the town. But I had no sooner begun than a great company of rabble, hired (as we afterwards found) for that purpose, came furiously upon us, bringing a bull, which they had been baiting, and now strove to drive in among the people. But the beast was wiser than his drivers, and continually ran either on one side of us or the other, while we quietly sang praise to God, and prayed for about an hour. The poor wretches, finding themselves disappointed, at length seized upon the bull, now weak and tired, after having been so long torn and beaten both by dogs and men; and, by main strength, partly dragged and partly thrust him in among the people. When they had forced their way to the little table on which I stood, they strove several times to throw it down, by thrusting the helpless beast against it, who, of himself, stirred no more than a log of wood. I once or twice put aside his head with my hand, that the blood might not drop upon my clothes; intending to go as soon as the hurry should be a little over. But, the table falling down, some of our friends caught me in their arms and carried me right away on their shoulders; while the rabble wreaked their vengeance on the table. . . . We went a little way off, where I finished my discourse without any noise or interruption.

. . . . . .

Thurs., Oct. 20th, 1743.—. . . I rode to Wednesbury. At 12 I preached in a ground near the middle of the town to a far larger congregation than was expected. . . . I was writing at Francis Ward's in the afternoon when the cry arose that the mob had beset the house. We prayed that God would disperse them: . . . in half an hour not a

man was left. I told our brethren, "Now is the time for us to go;" but they pressed me exceedingly to stay; so . . . I sat down. Before 5 the mob surrounded the house again, in greater numbers than ever. The cry of one and all was, "Bring out the minister; we will have the minister." . . . As soon as I was in the midst of them, I called for a chair, and, standing up, asked, "What do any of you want with me?" Some said, "We want you to go with us to the Justice." I replied, "That I will with all my heart." . . . I asked, "Shall we go to the Justice to-night or in the morning?" Most of them cried, "To-night, to-night:" on which I went before, and two or three hundred followed. . . . The night came on before we had walked a mile, together with heavy rain. However, on we went to Bentley Hall, 2 miles from Wednesbury. One or two ran before to tell Mr Lane, they had brought Mr Wesley before his worship. Mr Lane replied, "What have I to do with Mr Wesley? Go and carry him back again." By this time the main body came up and began knocking at the door. A servant told them Mr Lane was in bed. His son followed, and asked what was the matter? One replied, "Why an't please you, they sing psalms all day; nay, and make folks rise at 5 in the morning. And what would your worship advise us to do?" "To go home," said Mr Lane, "and be quiet." . . . One advised to go to Justice Persehouse at Walsal. All agreed to this; so we hastened on and about 7 came to his house. But Mr P—— likewise sent word that he was in bed . . . at last all thought it the wisest course to make the best of their way home; . . . but we had not gone a hundred yards when the mob of Walsall came, pouring in like a flood, and bore down all before them. The Darlaston mob made what defence they could; but they were weary as well as outnumbered; so that in a short time, many being knocked down, the rest ran away and left me in their hands. To attempt speaking

was vain, for the noise on every side was like the roaring of the sea. So they dragged me along till we came to the town. . . . They . . . carried me through the main street, from one end of the town to the other. . . . At the west end of the town, seeing a door half open, I made toward it, but a gentleman in the shop would not suffer me. . . . However, I stood at the door and asked, "Are you willing to hear me speak?" Many cried out, "No! no! knock his brains out! down with him! kill him at once." Others said, "Nay, but we will hear him first." I began asking, "What evil have I done? Which of you all have I wronged in word or deed? and continued speaking for above a quarter of an hour, till my voice suddenly failed. Then the floods began to lift up their voice again; many crying out, "Bring him away." . . . And now the man who just before headed the mob, turned and said, "Sir, I will spend my life for you: follow me, and not one soul here shall touch a hair of your head." Two or three of his fellows confirmed his words and got close to me immediately. . . . The people then, as if it had been by common consent, fell back to the right and left; while those three or four men took me between them, and carried me through them all. But on the bridge the mob rallied again; we therefore went on one side over the mill-dam, and thence through the meadows, till, a little before ten God brought me safe to Wednesbury; having lost only one flap of my waistcoat and a little skin from one of my hands. . . .

I cannot close this head without inserting as great a curiosity in its kind as, I believe, was ever yet seen in England, which had its birth within a few days of this remarkable occurrence at Walsal.

"STAFFORDSHIRE.

"To all High Constables, Petty Constables, and other of His Majesty's Peace Officers, within the said County, and particularly to the Constable of Tipton (Near Walsal):

"Whereas we, His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County of Stafford, have received information that several disorderly persons, styling themselves Methodist Preachers, go about raising routs and riots, to the great damage of His Majesty's liege people, and against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King: These are in His Majesty's name, to command you and every one of you, within your respective districts, to make diligent search after the said Methodist Preachers, and to bring him or them before some of us his said Majesty's Justices of the Peace, to be examined concerning their unlawful doings.

"Given under our hands and seals, this [12th] day of October, 1743.

"J. LANE.
"W. PERSEHOUSE."

N.B.—The very Justices to whose houses I was carried, and who severally refused to see me!

On Monday, Jan. 23 [1744], a great mob gathered together at Darlaston, a mile from Wednesbury. They fell upon a few people, who were going to Wednesbury. . . .

Mon., Jan. 30.—The mob gathered again, broke into Joshua Constable's house, pulled part of it down, broke some of his goods to pieces, and carried the rest away: particularly all his shop goods, to a considerable value. . . .

Mond., Feb. 6.—The mob had been gathering all Monday night, and on Tuesday morning they began their work. They assaulted, one after another, all the houses of those who were called Methodists. They first broke all their windows, suffering neither glass, lead, nor frames to remain therein. Then they made their way in; and all the tables, chairs, chests of drawers, with whatever was not easily removable, they dashed in pieces, particularly shop goods, and furniture of every kind. What they could not well break, as feather beds, they cut in pieces and strewed about the room. . . . (Had the French come in that place, would

they have done more ?) All this time none offered to resist them. Indeed most part, both men and women, fled for their lives. . . . Wearing apparel and things which were of value or easily saleable, they carried away: every man loading himself with as much as he could well carry, of whatever he liked best. . . . On Wednesday the mob divided into two or three companies, one of which went to Aldridge, [6] miles from Wednesbury, and plundered many houses there, as they had done in several other villages. . . . They came back through Walsal with their spoils; but the gentlemen of Walsal being apprised of their coming, raised a body of men, who met them, took what they had away, and laid it up in the Town-Hall. Notice was then sent to Aldridge that every man who had been plundered might come and take his own goods.

Wed., April 4.—About 11 we reached St Ive's [Cornwall]. As soon as we went out [of John Nance's house] we were saluted as usual with a huzza and a few stones or pieces of dirt. But in the evening none opened his mouth while I proclaimed, "I will love thee, O Lord, my strength."

Thurs. 5.—I took a view of the ruins of the house, which the mob had pulled down a little before, for joy that Admiral Matthews had beat the Spaniards. Such is the Cornish method of thanksgiving. I suppose if Admiral Lestock had fought too, they would have knocked all the Methodists on the head.

Tues., May 15th, 1744.—I rode the shortest way to Birstal [Yorks]. Here I found our brethren partly mourning, and partly rejoicing, on account of John Nelson. On Friday the 4th instant (they informed me) the constables took him, just as he had ended his sermon, at Adwalton, and the next day carried him before the Commissioners at Halifax. . . . Many were ready to testify that he was in no respect such a person as the Act of Parliament specified.

But they were not heard; he was a Preacher, that was enough. So he was sent for a soldier at once.

. . . . . .

Thurs., Sept. 12, 1745.—I came to Leeds, preached at five, and at eight met the Society; after which the mob pelted us with dirt and stones, greater part of the way home. The congregation was much larger next evening, and so was the mob at our return, and likewise in higher spirits, being ready to knock out all our brains, for joy that the Duke of Tuscany was emperor.

. . . . . .

Monday, July 23, 1759.—I preached, near Huddersfield, to the wildest congregation I have seen in Yorkshire; yet they were restrained by an unseen hand, and I believe some felt the sharpness of His word.

. . . . . .

Friday, Aug. 3, 1759.—I preached at Gainsborough, in Sir Nevil Hickman's great hall. It is full as large as the Weaver's Hall in Bristol. At two it was filled with a rude, wild multitude (a few of a better spirit excepted). Yet all but two or three gentlemen were attentive while I enforced our Lord's words: "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" I was walking back through a gaping, staring crowd, when Sir Nevil came and thanked me for my sermon, to the no small amazement of his neighbours, who shrunk back as if they had seen a ghost. Thence I rode to North Scarle, the last village in Lincolnshire, ten miles short of Newark. Here a great multitude assembled from various parts, most of them wholly unacquainted with the ways of God; indeed to such a degree, that, though I spoke as plain as I could on the first principles of religion, yet it seemed very many understood me no more than if I was talking Greek.

15. A SERVICE OF JOHN WESLEY

SOURCE: Horace Walpole, *Letters.* To John Chute (1735–1797).

10 *Oct.*, 1766.—My health advances faster than my amusement. However, I have been at one opera, Mr Wesley's. They have boys and girls with charming voices, that sing hymns, in parts, to Scotch ballad tunes; but indeed so long, that one would think they were already in eternity, and knew how much time they had before them. The chapel is very neat, with true Gothic windows (yet I am not converted); but I was glad to see that luxury is creeping in upon them before persecution: they have very neat mahogany stands for branches, and brackets of the same in taste. At the upper end is a broad *hautpas* of four steps, advancing in the middle: at each end of the broadest part are two of *my* eagles, with red cushions for the parson and clerk. Behind them rise three more steps, in the midst of which is a third eagle for pulpit. Scarlet armed chairs to all three. On either hand, a balcony for elect ladies. The rest of the congregation sit on forms. Behind the pit, in a dark niche, is a plain table within rails; so you see the throne is for the apostle. Wesley is a lean, elderly man, fresh-coloured, his hair smoothly combed, but with a *soupçon* of curl at the ends. Wondrous clean, but as evidently an actor as Garrick. He spoke his sermon, but so fast, and with so little accent, that I am sure he has often uttered it, for it was like a lesson. There were parts and eloquence in it; but towards the end he exalted his voice, and acted very ugly enthusiasm; decried learning, and told stories, like Latimer, of the fool of his college, who said, "I thanks God for everything." Except a few from curiosity, and *some honourable women*, the congregation was very mean. There was a Scotch Countess of Buchan, who is carrying a pure rosy vulgar face to heaven, and who asked Miss Rich, if that was *the author of the poets*. I believe she meant me and the Noble Authors.

16. THE OPENING OF RANELAGH GARDENS

SOURCE: As No. 15. To Horace Mann.

May 26, 1742.—. . . Two nights ago Ranelagh-gardens were opened at Chelsea; the Prince, Princess, Duke [of Cumberland], much nobility and much mob besides, were there. There is a vast amphitheatre, finely gilt, painted, and illuminated, into which everybody that loves eating, drinking, staring, or crowding, is admitted for twelvepence. The building and disposition of the gardens cost sixteen thousand pounds. Twice a-week there are to be ridottos, at guinea tickets, for which you are to have a supper and music. I was there last night, but did not find the joy of it. Vauxhall is a little better; for the garden is pleasanter and one goes by water.

. . . . . .

[Writing two years later, he states:—]

To Hon. Henry Seymour Conway.

You must be informed that every night constantly I go to Ranelagh; which has totally beat Vauxhall. Nobody goes anywhere else—everybody goes there. My Lord Chesterfield is so fond of it, that he says he has ordered all his letters to be directed thither. If you had never seen it, I would make you a most pompous description of it, and tell you how the floor is all of beaten princes—that you can't set your foot without treading on a Prince of Wales or Duke of Cumberland. The company is universal: there is from his Grace of Grafton down to children out of the Foundling Hospital—from my Lady Townshend to the kitten—from my Lord Sandys to your humble cousin and sincere friend.

17. A LONDON GALA

SOURCE: As No. 15. To Sir Horace Mann.

May 3, 1749.—I am come hither for a few days, to repose myself after a torrent of diversions, and am writing to you

John Wesley

Ranelagh Gardens

in my charming bow-window with a tranquility and satisfaction which, I fear, I am grown old enough to prefer to the hurry of amusements, in which the whole world has lived for this last week. We have at last celebrated the peace,[1] and that as much in extremes as we generally do everything, whether we have reason to be glad or sorry, pleased or angry. Last Tuesday it was proclaimed: the King did not go to St Paul's, but at night the whole town was illuminated. The next day was what was called "a jubilee-masquerade in the Venetian manner" at Ranelagh: it had nothing Venetian in it, but was by far the best understood and the prettiest spectacle I ever saw: nothing in a fairy tale ever surpassed it. One of the proprietors, who is a German, and belongs to court, had got my Lady Yarmouth to persuade the King to order it. It began at three o'clock, and, about five, people of fashion began to go. When you entered you found the whole garden filled with masks and spread with tents. . . . In one quarter was a May-pole dressed with garlands, and people dancing round it to a tabor and pipe and rustic music, all masqued, as were all the various bands of music that were disposed in different parts of the garden; some like huntsmen with French horns, some like peasants, and a troop of harlequins and scaramouches in the little open temple on the mount. On the canal was a sort of gondola, adorned with flags and streamers, and filled with music, rowing about. All round the outside of the amphitheatre were shops, filled with Dresden china, japan, etc., and all the shopkeepers in mask. The amphitheatre was illuminated; and in the middle was a circular bower, composed of all kinds of firs in tubs, from twenty to thirty feet high: under them orange trees, with small lamps in each orange, and below them all sorts of the finest auriculas in pots; and festoons of natural flowers hanging from tree to tree.

[1] The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), which terminated the War of the Austrian Succession.

Between the arches too were firs, and smaller ones in the balconies above. There were booths for tea and wine, gaming-tables and dancing, and about two thousand persons. In short, it pleased me more than anything I ever saw. It is to be once more, and probably finer as to dresses, as there has since been a subscription masquerade, and people will go in their rich habits. The next day were the fireworks, which by no means answered the expense, the length of preparation, and the expectation that had been raised; indeed, for a week before, the town was like a country fair, the streets filled from morning to night, scaffolds building wherever you could or could not see, and coaches arriving from every corner of the kingdom. This hurry and lively scene, with the sight of the immense crowd in the Park and on every house, the guards, and the machine itself, which was very beautiful, was all that was worth seeing. The rockets, and whatever was thrown up into the air, succeeded mighty well; but the wheels, and all that was to compose the principal part, were pitiful and ill-conducted, with no changes of coloured fires and shapes: the illumination was mean, and lighted so slowly that scarce anybody had patience to wait the finishing; and then, what contributed to the awkwardness of the whole, was the right pavilion catching fire, and being burnt down in the middle of the show. The King, the Duke, and Princess Emily saw it from the library, with their courts: the Prince and Princess, with their children, from Lady Middlesex's; no place being provided for them, nor any invitation given to the library. The Lords and Commons had galleries built for them and the chief citizens along the rails of the mall: the Lords had four tickets a-piece, and each Commoner, at first, but two, till the Speaker bounced and obtained a third. Very little mischief was done, and but two persons killed: at Paris, there were forty killed and near three hundred wounded, by a dispute between the French and Italians in the manage-

ment, who, quarrelling for precedence in lighting the fires, both lighted at once and blew up the whole. Our mob was extremely tranquil, and very unlike those I remember in my father's time, when it was a measure in the Opposition to work up everything to mischief, the excise and the French players, the convention and the gin-act. We are as much now in the opposite extreme, and in general so pleased with the peace, that I could not help being struck with a passage I read lately in Pasquier, an old French author, who says, "that in the time of Francis I the French used to call their creditors, 'Des Anglois,' from the facility with which the English gave credit to them in all treaties, though they had broken so many." On Saturday we had a serenta at the Opera-House, called Peace in Europe, but it was a wretched performance. On Monday there was a subscription-masquerade, much fuller than that of last year, but not so agreeable or so various in dresses. The King was well disguised in an old-fashioned English habit, and much pleased with somebody who desired him to hold their cup as they were drinking tea. The Duke had a dress of the same kind, but was so immensely corpulent that he looked like Cacofogo, the drunken captain, in Rule a Wife and have a Wife.[1] The Duchess of Richmond was a lady mayoress in the time of James I; and Lord Delawarr, Queen Elizabeth's porter, from a picture in the guard-chamber at Kensington: they were admirable masks. Lady Rochford, Miss Evelyn, Miss Bishop, Lady Stafford, and Mrs Pitt, were in vast beauty; particularly the last, who had a red veil, which made her look gloriously handsome. I forgot Lady Kildare. Mr Conway was the Duke in Don Quixote and the finest figure I ever saw. . . .

If you ever think of returning to England, as I hope it will be long first, you must prepare yourself with Methodism. I really believe that by that time it will be necessary: this

[1] By Beaumont and Fletcher.

sect increases as fast as almost ever any religious nonsense did. Lady Fanny Shirley has chosen this way of bestowing the dregs of her beauty; and Mr Lyttleton is very near making the same sacrifice of the dregs of all those various characters that he has worn. The Methodists love your big sinners, as proper subjects to work upon—and indeed they have a plentiful harvest—I think what you call flagrancy was never more in fashion. Drinking is at the highest wine-mark; and gaming joined with it so violent, that at the last Newmarket meeting, in the rapidity of both, a bank-bill was thrown down, and nobody immediately claiming it, they agreed to give it to a man that was standing by. . . .

18. A SCHOOLMASTER'S LIFE [1750]. Robert Lloyd.

Were I at once empower'd to shew
My utmost vengeance on my foe,
To punish with extremest rigour,
I could inflict no penance bigger
Than using him as learning's tool
To make him Usher of a school.
For, not to dwell upon the toil
Of working on a barren soil,
And lab'ring with incessant pains
To cultivate a blockhead's brains,
The duties there but ill befit
The love of letters, arts, or wit.

. . . . . .

For me, it hurts me to the soul
To brook confinement or controul;
Still to be pinion'd down to teach
The syntax and the parts of speech;
Or, what perhaps is drudging worse,
The links, and joints, and rules of verse;

To deal out authors by retale,
Like penny pots of *Oxford* ale;
—Oh! 'Tis a service irksome more
Than tugging at the slavish oar.

. . . . . .

Yet such *his* task, a dismal truth,
Who watches o'er the bent of youth;
And while, a paltry stipend earning,
He sows the richest seeds of learning,
And tills *their* minds with proper care,
And sees them their due produce bear,
No joys, alas! his toil beguile,
His *own* lies fallow all the while.

. . . . . .

"Yet still he's on the road," you say,
"Of learning."—Why, perhaps he may,
But turns like horses in a mill,
Nor getting on, nor standing still;
For little way his learning reaches,
Who reads no more than what he teaches.

19. GARRICK AND GOLF [1758]

SOURCE: Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography*.

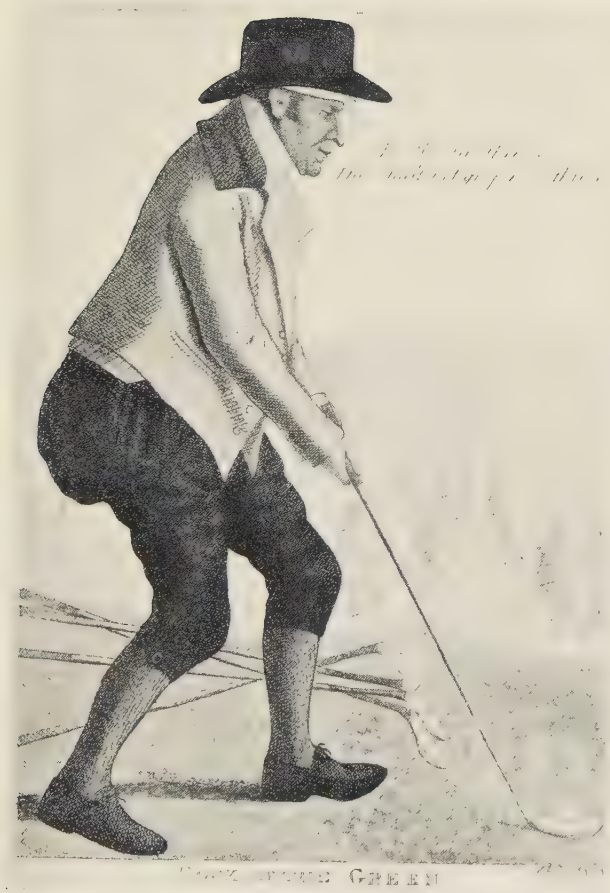
Garrick was so friendly to John Home that he gave a dinner to his friends and companions at his house at Hampton, which he did but seldom. He had told us to bring golf clubs and balls that we might play at that game on Molesly Hurst. We accordingly set out in good time, six of us in a landau. As we passed through Kensington, the Coldstream regiment were changing guard, and, on seeing our clubs, they gave us three cheers in honour of a diversion peculiar to Scotland; so much does the remembrance of one's native country dilate the heart, when one has been some time absent. The same sentiment made us

open our purses, and give our countrymen wherewithal to drink the "Land o' Cakes." Garrick met us by the way, so impatient he seemed to be for his company. There were John Home, and Robertson, and Wedderburn, and Robert and James Adam, and Colonel David Wedderburn, who was killed when commander of the army in Bombay [in the year 1773]. He was held by his companions to be in every respect as clever and able a man as his elder brother the Chancellor, with a much more gay, popular and social temper.

Immediately after we arrived, we crossed the river to the golfing ground, which was very good. None of the company could play but John Home and myself, and Parson Black from Aberdeen, who, being chaplain to a regiment during some of the Duke of Cumberland's campaigns, had been pointed out to his Royal Highness as a proper person to teach him the game of chess: the Duke was such an apt scholar that he never lost a game after the first day; and he recompensed Black for having beat him so cruelly by procuring for him the living of Hampton, which is a good one. We returned and dined sumptuously. Mrs Garrick, the only lady, now grown fat, though still very lively, being a woman of uncommon good sense, and now mistress of English, was in all respects most agreeable company. She did not seem at all to recognize me, which was no wonder, at the end of twelve years, having thrown away my bag-wig and sword, and appearing in my own grisly hairs, and in parson's clothes; nor was I likely to remind her of her former state.[1]

Garrick had built a handsome temple, with a statue of Shakespeare in it, in his lower garden, on the banks of the Thames, which was separated from the upper one by a high-road, under which there was an archway which united the two gardens. Garrick, in compliment to Home, had ordered

[1] She was a Viennese dancing girl before Garrick married her.



An Eighteenth Century Golfer

The Manchester Canal at Barton Bridge

the wine to be carried to this temple, where we were to drink it under the shade of the copy of that statue to which Home had addressed his pathetic verses on the rejection of his play. The poet and the actor were equally gay, and well pleased with each other, on this occasion, with much respect on the one hand, and a total oblivion of animosity on the other; for vanity is a passion that is easy to be entreated, and unites freely with all the best affections. Having observed a green mount in the garden, opposite the archway, I said to our landlord, that while the servants were preparing the collation in the temple, I would surprise him with a stroke at the golf, as I should drive a ball through his archway into the Thames once in three strokes. I had measured the distance with my eye in walking about the garden, and accordingly at the second stroke, made the ball alight in the mouth of the gateway and roll down the green slope into the river. This was so dexterous that he was quite surprised, and begged the club of me by which such a feat had been performed. We passed a very agreeable afternoon, and it is hard to say which were happier, the landlord and landlady or the guests.

20. THE DUKE OF BRIDGEWATER'S CANAL

SOURCE: As No. 9.

This waits on you with an account of the duke of *Bridgewater's* magnificent work near *Manchester*, which is, perhaps, the greatest artificial curiosity in the world; crowds of people from all parts resort to it, and persons of high rank express their admiration of it.

This is a new canal, and I know not what to call it besides, constructed, as it should seem, to convey coals out of a mine to *Manchester* and other places; but is capable of being applied to more considerable purposes.

This stupendous work was begun at a place called *Worsley*

Mill, about seven miles from *Manchester*, where, at the foot of a large mountain, the duke has cut a bason capable of holding all his boats, and a great body of water, which serves as a reservoir, or head, to his navigation; and in order to draw the coals out of the mine, which runs through the hill to an amazing extent, his grace has cut a subterranean passage, big enough for long flat-bottomed boats to go up to the work, and has so preserved the level, that a part of the water, which drives a mill near the mouth of the passage, runs in, and stands to the depth of about five feet. This passage also serves to drain the coal mines of that water which would otherwise obstruct the work, and is to be carried on three miles or more under ground.

Having obtained a ticket to see this curiosity, which is done by sending your name to a new house, which the duke has lately built for his residence, at about half a mile distance, you enter with lighted candles the subterreanean passage in a boat, made for bringing out the coals, of this form and dimensions;

Fifty feet long, four and a half broad.

Two feet three inches deep.

When you first enter the passage, and again when you come among the colliers, your heart will be apt to fail you; for it seems so much like leaving this world for the regions of darkness, that I could think of nothing but those descriptions of the infernal shades which the poets have drawn for *Ulysses*, *Æneas*, and your old friend *Telemachus*. There is more civility, however, in this region, than *Homer*, *Virgil* and *Fenelon* ever discovered in theirs; for should your spirits sink, the company are ever ready to aid you with

a glass of wine; even *Charon* himself will offer you a cup on the occasion.

Through this passage you proceed, towing the boat on each hand by the rail, to the extent of 1,000 yards, that is, near three quarters of a mile, before you come to the coal works; then the passage divides, and one branch continues on a straight line among the coal works 300 yards further, while another turns off, and proceeds 300 yards to the left; and each of them may be extended farther, or other passages be conveyed from them to any other part, as the mines may run and necessity require. Hence you will perceive, that those who go up both passages travel near three miles underground before they return. The passages in those parts where there were coals or loose earth, are arched over with brick, in others the arch is cut out of the rock.

At certain distances there are, in niches, on the side of the arch, funnels or openings through the rock to the top of the hill (which is in some places near 37 yards perpendicular) in order [to] preserve a free circulation of fresh air, as well as to [prevent] those damps and exhalations that are often so destructive in works of this kind, and to let down men to work in case any accident should happen to the passage. Near the entrance of the passage, and again further on, there are gates to close up the arch, and prevent the admission of too much air in tempestuous and windy weather.

At the entrance the arch is about six feet wide, and about five feet high from the surface of the water; but as you come further in it is wider, and in some places opened so that the boats, that are going to and fro, can pass each other; and when you come among the pits the arch is ten feet wide.

The coals are brought from the pits to this passage or canal in little low waggons that hold near a ton each, and as the work is on the descent, are easily pushed by a man,

on a railed way, to a stage over the canal, and then shot into one of the boats already mentioned, each of which holds about eight tons. They then, by means of the rails, are drawn out by one man to a bason at the mouth of the passage, where four, five, or six of them are linked together, and drawn by one horse or two mules, by the side of the canal, to *Manchester* or other places where the canal is conveyed.

There are also on the canal, other broad boats, that hold about fifty tons, which are likewise drawn by one horse. Of the small boats there are about fifty employed in the work and of the large ones a considerable number.

21. AN EVENING WITH DR JOHNSON AT THE MITRE

SOURCE: Boswell, *Life of Johnson.* 1791.

On Wednesday, July 6th [1763], he [Dr Johnson] was engaged to sup with me at my lodgings in Downing-street, Westminster. But on the preceding night my landlord having behaved very rudely to me and some company who were with me, I had resolved not to remain another night in his house. I was exceedingly uneasy at the awkward appearance I supposed I should make to Johnson and the other gentlemen whom I had invited, not being able to receive them at home, and being obliged to order supper at the Mitre. I went to Johnson in the morning, and talked of it as of a serious distress. He laughed, and said, "Consider, Sir, how insignificant this will appear a twelvemonth hence. . . . There is nothing in this mighty misfortune; nay, we shall be better at the Mitre. . . ."

* * * * * * *

I had as my guests this evening at the Mitre tavern, Dr Johnson, Dr Goldsmith, Mr Thomas Davies, Mr Eccles, an Irish gentleman, for whose agreeable company I was obliged to Mr Davies, and the Revd. Mr Ogilvie, . . . who

was very desirous of being in company with my illustrious friend, while I, in my turn, was proud to have the honour of showing one of my countrymen upon what easy terms Johnson permitted me to live with him.

Goldsmith, as usual, endeavoured, with too much eagerness, to shine, and disputed very warmly wth Johnson against the well-known maxim of the British constitution, "the King can do no wrong," affirming, that "what was morally false could not be politically true; and as the King might, in the exercise of his regal power, command and cause the doing of what was wrong, it certainly might be said, in sense and in reason, that he could do wrong." JOHNSON—"Sir, you are to consider, that in our constitution, according to its true principles, the King is the head; he is supreme; he is above everything, and there is no power by which he can be tried. Therefore it is, Sir, that we hold the King can do no wrong, that whatever may happen to be wrong in government may not be above our reach, by being ascribed to Majesty. Redress is always to be had against oppression, by punishing the immediate agents. The King, though he should command, cannot force a judge to condemn a man unjustly; therefore it is the judge whom we prosecute and punish. . . . It is better in general that a nation should have a supreme legislative power, although it may at times be abused. And then, Sir, there is this consideration, that *if the abuse be enormous, Nature will rise up, and claiming her original rights, overturn a corrupt political system.*"

. . . . . .

Mr Ogilvie was unlucky enough to choose for the topick of his conversation the praises of his native country. He began with saying, that there was very rich land round Edinburgh. Goldsmith, who had studied physick there, contradicted this, very untruly, with a sneering laugh. Disconcerted a little by this, Mr Oglivie then took new ground,

where, I suppose, he thought himself perfectly safe; for he observed, that Scotland had a great many noble wild prospects.

Johnson—"I believe, Sir, you have a great many. Norway, too, has noble wild prospects; and Lapland is remarkable for prodigious noble wild prospects. But, Sir, let me tell you, the noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees, is the high road that leads him to England!" This unexpected and pointed sally produced a roar of applause.

. . . . . .

15*th Feb.*, 1766.—At the Mitre, when I presented to him [Johnson] my old and most intimate friend, the Revd. Mr Temple, then of Cambridge. I having mentioned that I had passed some time with Rousseau in his wild retreat, and having quoted some remark made by Mr Wilkes, with whom I had spent many pleasant hours in Italy, Johnson said, (sarcastically,) "It seems, Sir, you have kept very good company abroad, Rousseau and Wilkes!" Thinking it enough to defend one at a time, I said nothing as to my gay friend, but answered with a smile, "My dear Sir, you don't call Rousseau bad company. Do you really think *him* a bad man?" Johnson—"Sir, if you are talking jestingly of this, I don't talk with you. If you mean to be serious, I think him one of the worst of men; a rascal, who ought to be hunted out of society, as he has been. Three or four nations have expelled him; and it is a shame that he is protected in this country." Boswell—"I don't deny, Sir, but that his novel may perhaps do harm; but I cannot think his intention was bad." Johnson—"Sir, that will not do. We cannot prove any man's intention to be bad. You may shoot a man through the head, and say you intended to miss him; but the judge will order you to be hanged. . . . Rousseau, Sir, is a very bad man. I would sooner sign a sentence for his transportation, than that of

any felon who has gone from the Old Bailey these many years. Yes, I should like to have him work in the plantations." BOSWELL—"Sir, do you think him as bad a man as Voltaire?" JOHNSON—"Why, Sir, it is difficult to settle the proportion of iniquity between them."

22. ROADS AND INNS DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ROADS

SOURCES: Various.

a. SOURCE: Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, 1848.

The length of way (from Windsor to Petworth) was only 40 miles, but 14 hours were consumed in traversing it; while almost every mile was signalized by the overturn of a carriage, or its temporary swamping in the mire. Even the royal chariot would have fared no better than the rest had it not been for the relays of peasants, who poised and kept it erect by strength of arm and shouldered it forward the last nine miles, in which tedious operation 6 good hours were consumed.

b. SOURCE: Wesley, *Journal.*

The road near Leigh in Essex: The ruts were so deep and uneven that the horses could scarce stand, and the chaise was continually in danger of overturning; so my companions thought it best to walk to town, though the road was both wet and dirty.

c. SOURCE: Defoe, *Tour through Great Britain*, 1724–26.

Going to church at a country village, not far from Lewis, I saw an ancient lady—and a lady of very good quality I assure you—drawn to church in her coach with six oxen: nor was it done in frolic or humour, but mere necessity, the way being so stiff and deep that no horses could go in it.

d. SOURCE: Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, 1848.

The road between this place (Kensington) and London is grown so infamously bad, that we live here in the same solitude as we would do if cast on a rock in the middle of the ocean; and all the Londoners tell us that there is between them and us an impassable gulf of mud.

e. SOURCE: Young, *A Six Months Tour through the North of England*, 1770–71.

From *Richmond* to *Darlington*, by *Croft Bridge*. To *Croft Bridge* cross, and very indifferent. From thence to *Darlington* is the great north road, and execrably broke into holes, like an old pavement; sufficient to dislocate ones bones.

To *Durham*. Turnpike. Good. But some of it rough.

To *Newcastle*. Turnpike. Good; but part of it broken.

From *Beverly* to *Driffield* is, I think, by much the best turnpike road I have met with in Yorkshire.

From London to Oxford. Turnpike. Middling. Many narrow ways, where a horse cannot pass a carriage; and in general, in this country, the not breaking the stones small enough is a great nuisance.

[From London] to Stevenage. Turnpike. Very good.

From Stevenage to Luton. Cross [Rd.]. Execrable.

[From Newport-Pagnel] to Bedford. Turnpike. A vile narrow cut-up lane.

From Doncaster to Pontefract. Cross. Indifferent.

From Lancaster to Preston. Turnpike. Very bad.

From Preston to Wigan. Ditto. I know not, in the whole range of language, terms sufficiently expressive to describe this infernal road. . . . Let me most seriously caution all travellers, who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible country, to avoid it as they would the devil: for a thousand to one but they break their necks

or their limbs by overthrows or breakings down. They will here meet with ruts which I actually measured four feet deep, and floating with mud only from the wet summer; what therefore must it be after a winter? The only mending it in places receives, is the tumbling in some loose stones, which serve no other purpose but jolting a carriage in the most intolerable manner. . . .

[From Wigan] to Warrington. Turnpike. This is a paved road, and most infamously bad. Any person would imagine the boobies of the country had made it with a view to immediate destruction; for the breadth is only sufficient for one carriage. . . .

[From Brentford] to London. Turnpike. Excellent.

From Henley to Maidenhead. Turnpike. Admirable. But much too narrow for such vast traffic.

Inns

I think there are many objections to suffering the characters of inns, and the *minutiæ* of a journey, to intermix with the material objects of a tour. But I cannot agree with those who think all matters of this sort beneath a man's notice; the most trifling circumstances are of some weight in deciding the character and state of a nation; the grand chain of prosperity has links we do not think of: Good roads, and convenient accommodations for travellers, are necessary, not only to agriculture and manufactures, but to the fine arts; even to literature, and every embellishment of life; the possession of them implies a state of prosperity and elegance. It is of consequence to know, that in the remotest parts of the kingdom a traveller will meet a reception, in most respects different from what he will find in foreign countries; a decent bed; clean sheets; plenty of fuel; wholesome provisions; and generally a civil landlord. . . .

Grantham: "George." . . . Very good, uncommonly civil and very reasonable.

Newark: "Saracen's Head." Disagreeable and dear.

Rotherham: "Crown." Very disagreeable and dirty; but very cheap. . . .

Sheffield: "Angel." . . . Very good, exceedingly civil, and cheap.

Wakefield: "White Hart." . . . Disagreeable and dirty; but cheap.

Leeds: "Old King's Arms." . . . Dirty and disagreeable.

Beverly: "Tiger." . . . Very civil and reasonable.

Castle Howard: "New Inn." . . . An excellent house, but dear, and a saucy landlady.

Oxford: "Angel." Very dirty, and not obliging.

Woodstock: "Bear." . . . Good.

Henley: "Red Lion." . . . Very good.

Worcester: "Hop Pole." Good; very civil.

Birmingham: "Swan." . . . Good, but rather dear.

23. THE DIVISION OF LABOUR

SOURCE: Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, 1776.

Observe the accommodation of the most common artificer or day-labourer in a civilised and thriving country, and you will perceive that the number of people of whose industry a part, though but a small part, has been employed in procuring him this accommodation, exceeds all computation. The woollen coat, for example, which covers the day-labourer, as coarse and rough as it may appear, is the produce of the joint labour of a great multitude of workmen. The shepherd, the sorter of the wool, the woolcomber or carder, the dyer, the scribbler, the spinner, the weaver, the fuller, the dresser, with many others, must all join their different arts in order to complete even this homely production. How many merchants and carriers,

besides, must have been employed in transporting the materials from some of those workmen to others who often live in a very distant part of the country! how much commerce and navigation in particular, how many ship-builders, sailors, sail-makers, rope-makers, must have been employed in order to bring together the different drugs made use of by the dyer, which often come from the remotest corners of the world! What a variety of labour too is necessary in order to produce the tools of the meanest of these workmen! To say nothing of such complicated machines as the ship of the sailor, the mill of the fuller, or even the loom of the weaver, let us consider only what a variety of labour is requisite in order to form that very simple machine, the shears with which the shepherd clips the wool. The miner, the builder of the furnace for smelting the ore, the feller of the timber, the burner of the charcoal to be made use of in the smelting house, the brick-maker, the brick-layer, the workmen who attend the furnace, the millwright, the forger, the smith, must all of them join their different arts in order to produce them. Were we to examine, in the same manner, all the different parts of his dress and household furniture, the coarse linen shirt which he wears next his skin, the shoes which cover his feet, the bed which he lies on, and all the different parts which compose it, the kitchen grate at which he prepares his victuals, the coals which he makes use of for that purpose, dug from the bowels of the earth, and brought to him perhaps by a long sea and a long land carriage, all the other utensils of his kitchen, all the furniture of his table, the knives and forks, the earthen or pewter plates upon which he serves up and divides his victuals, the different hands employed in preparing his bread and his beer, the glass window which lets in the heat and the light, and keeps out the wind and the rain, with all the knowledge and art requisite for preparing that beautiful and happy invention, without which these northern parts

of the world could scarce have afforded a very comfortable habitation, together with the tools of all the different workmen employed in producing those different conveniences; if we examine, I say, all these things, and consider what a variety of labour is employed about each of them, we shall be sensible that without the assistance and co-operation of many thousands, the very meanest person in a civilised country could not be provided, even according to what we very falsely imagine the easy and simple manner in which he is commonly accommodated. Compared, indeed, with the more extravagant luxury of the great, his accommodation must no doubt appear extremely simple and easy; and yet it may be true perhaps that the accommodation of an European prince does not always so much exceed that of an industrious and frugal peasant, as the accommodation of the latter exceeds that of many an African king, the absolute master of the lives and liberties of ten thousand naked savages.

24. THE STATE OF THE POOR [1795]

SOURCE: Sir F. Eden, *State of the Poor*, 1797. East Riding of Yorkshire. Neighbourhood of Hornsey.

Common wages, with diet, from Martinmas to Lady-day, 5s. the week; ditto from Lady-day to Mid-summer, 6s.; ditto, from Mid-summer to Michaelmas, 9s.; ditto, from Michaelmas to Martinmas, 6s. Common wages, without diet, 9s. the week in winter; and 12s. in summer. In harvest, men receive 12s. and 14s. the week and victuals; and women, 6s. and 7s. the week, with beer, but no meat. There is very constant employment, in the winter. The labourers are, in general, supplied by their employers with corn, etc., much below the market price. The rents of cottages vary according to the quantity of land annexed; and are from £1 to £1 10s. Many of the cottages on this coast are miserable hovels, built of mud and straw. Such

habitations are sometimes granted by the parish to poor families; and sometimes the parishes supply their poor inhabitants with fuel. Many cottagers cultivate potatoes in their garths and gardens; some have a pig; and a few keep cows. . . .

25. A FARMER'S FARE IN 1799

SOURCE: Parkinson, *The Experienced Farmer's Tour in America*, 1805.

I was accustomed to eat what may be termed black bread, for which the small wheat called hinder-ends, or light wheat taken out of the best sent to market, is used and kept for family use; which being ground, was afterwards passed through a wide sieve, with the small bran searched out of the best wheat flour, and put amongst the bread meal; altogether making a sort of coarse or black bread; and the fine flour used for puddings, pies, etc. Yeast not being then in general use, a piece of dough was kept out of the last baking and salted; which before the time of using it for the next batch, becoming sour, this sort of bread acquired the same quality. Very fat bacon was the chief of our diet, garden stuff not being in such general use at this time, excepting the large Windsor beans in summer, and potatoes occasionally in the winter, with pease-puddings. I know no greater dainty to me than these beans and fat bacon, or pease-pudding, to the offal of pig's flesh in the winter, or some of the black bread and fat bacon.

26. ENGLISH PASSION FOR POLITICS

SOURCE: Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World*, 1775.

I have already informed you of the singular passion of this nation for politics. An Englishman not satisfied with finding by his own prosperity the contending powers of Europe properly balanced, desires also to know the precise value of every weight in either scale. To gratify this curiosity, a leaf of political instruction is served up every

morning with tea. When our politician has feasted upon this, he repairs to a coffee-house, in order to ruminate upon what he has read, and increase his collection; from thence he proceeds to the ordinary, enquires what news, and treasuring up every acquisition there, hunts about all the evening in quest of more, and carefully adds it to the rest. Thus at night he retires home, full of the important advices of the day. When lo! awaking next morning, he finds the instructions of yesterday, a collection of absurdity or palpable falsehood. This, one would think, a mortifying repulse in the pursuit of wisdom; yet our politician no way discouraged, hunts on in order to collect fresh materials, and in order to be again disappointed.

I have often admired the commercial spirit which prevails over Europe; have been surprised to see them carry on a traffic with productions, that an Asiatic stranger would deem entirely useless. It is a proverb in China, that an European suffers not even his spittle to be lost; the maxim, however, is not sufficiently strong; since they sell even their lies to great advantage. Every nation drives a considerable trade in this commodity with their neighbours.

An English dealer in this way, for instance, has only to ascend to his work-house, and manufacture a turbulent speech averred to be spoken in the senate; or a report supposed to be dropt at court; a piece of scandal that strikes a popular Mandarine; or a secret treaty between two neighbouring powers. When finished, these goods are baled up and consigned to a factor abroad, who sends in return two battles, three sieges, and a shrewd letter filled with dashes —— blanks and stars * * * of great importance.

Thus you perceive, that a single Gazette is the joint manufacture of Europe; and he who would peruse it with a philosophical eye, might perceive in every paragraph, something characteristic of the nation to which it belongs.

A map does not exhibit a more distinct view of the boundaries and situation of every country, than its news does a picture of the genius and the morals of its inhabitants. The superstition and erroneous delicacy of Italy, the formality of Spain, the cruelty of Portugal, the fears of Austria, the confidence of Prussia, the levity of France, the avarice of Holland, the pride of England, the absurdity of Ireland, and the national partiality of Scotland, are all conspicuous in every page.

But, perhaps, you may find more satisfaction in a real news paper, than in my description of one; I therefore send a specimen, which may serve to exhibit the manner of their being written, and distinguish the characters of the various nations which are united in its composition.

Naples.—We have lately dug up here a curious Etruscan monument, broke in two in the raising. The characters are scarce visible; but *Nugosi*, the learned antiquary, supposes it to have been erected in honour of *Picus*, a Latin king, as one of the lines may be plainly distinguished to begin with a P. It is hoped this discovery will produce something valuable, as the literati of our twelve academies are deeply engaged in the disquisition.

Pisa.—Since father Fudgi, prior of St Gilbert's, has gone to reside at Rome, no miracles have been performed at the shrine of St Gilbert; the devout begin to grow uneasy, and some begin actually to fear that St Gilbert has forsaken them with the reverend father.

Lucca.—The administrators of our serene republic have frequent conferences upon the part they shall take in the present commotions of Europe. Some are for sending a body of their troops, consisting of one company of foot and six horsemen, to make a diversion in favour of the empress-queen [Maria-Theresa, Queen of Hungary]; others are as strenuous asserters of the Prussian interest: what turn these debates may take, time only can discover. However,

certain it is, we shall be able to bring into the field at the opening of the next campaign, seventy-five armed men, a commander-in-chief, and two drummers of great experience.

SPAIN.—Yesterday the new king showed himself to his subjects, and after having stayed half an hour in his balcony, retired to the royal apartment. The night concluded on this extraordinary occasion, with illuminations and other demonstrations of joy.

The queen is more beautiful than the rising sun, and reckoned one of the first wits in Europe: she had a glorious opportunity of displaying the readiness of her invention, and her skill in repartee lately at court. The duke of Lerma, coming up to her with a low bow and a smile, and presenting a nosegay set with diamonds, *Madame*, cries he, *I am your most obedient humble servant. O, Sir*, replies the queen, without any prompter, or the least hesitation, *I'm very proud of the very great honour you do me.* Upon which she made a low curtesy, and all the courtiers fell a-laughing at the readiness and the smartness of her reply.

LISBON.—Yesterday we had an *auto da fe*, at which were burned three young women accused of heresy, one of them of exquisite beauty; two Jews, and an old woman, convicted of being a witch: One of the friars, who attended this last, reports, that he saw the devil fly out of her at the stake in the shape of a flame of fire. The populace behaved on this occasion with great good humour, joy, and sincere devotion.

Our *merciful Sovereign* has been for some time past recovered of his fright: though so atrocious an attempt deserved to exterminate half the nation, yet he has been graciously pleased to spare the lives of his subjects, and not above five hundred have been broke upon the wheel, or otherwise executed upon this horrid occasion.

VIENNA.—We have received certain advices that a party of twenty thousand Austrians, having attacked a much

superior body of Prussians, put them all to flight, and took the rest prisoners of war.

BERLIN.—We have received certain advices that a party of twenty thousand Prussians, having attacked a much superior body of Austrians, put them to flight, and took a great number of prisoners, with their military chest, cannon, and baggage.

Though we have not succeeded this campaign to our wishes; yet, when we think of him who commands us, we rest in security: while we sleep, our king is watchful for our safety.

PARIS.—We shall soon strike a signal blow. We have seventeen flat-bottomed boats at Havre. The people are in excellent spirits, and our ministers make no difficulty of raising the supplies.

We are all undone; the people are discontented to the last degree; the ministers are obliged to have recourse to the most rigorous methods to raise the expenses of the war. . . .

ENGLAND.—Wanted an usher to an academy.—*N.B.*—He must be able to read, dress hair, and must have had the small-pox. . . .

We hear from Germany that Prince Ferdinand has gained a complete victory, and taken twelve kettle-drums, five standards, and four waggons of ammunition prisoners of war.

EDINBURGH.—We are positive when we say, that Saunders M'Gregor, who was lately executed for horse-stealing, is not a Scotchman, but born in Carrickfergus. Farewell.

27. SOME ENGLISH CUSTOMS

SOURCE: C. P. Moritz, *Travels, chiefly on foot, through Several Parts of Great Britain*, 1782. In John Pinkerton, *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 1808–14. Vol. II.

The singing of the choristers in the streets, so usual with us [in Germany], is not at all customary here. Indeed,

there is in England, or at least in London, such a constant walking, riding, and driving up and down in the streets, that it would not be very practicable. Parents here, in general, nay even those of the lowest classes, seem to be kind and indulgent to their children; and do not, like our common people, break their spirits too much by blows and sharp language. Children should certainly be inured early to set a proper value on themselves; whereas with us, parents of the lower class bring up their children to the same slavery under which they themselves groan.

Notwithstanding the constant new appetites and calls of fashion, they here remain faithful to nature till a certain age. What a contrast, when I figure to myself our petted, pale-faced Berlin boys, at six years old, with a large bag, and all the parade of grown-up persons, nay even with laced coats; and here, on the contrary, see nothing but fine, ruddy, slim, active boys, with their bosoms open, and their hair cut on their forehead, whilst behind it flows naturally in ringlets. It is something uncommon here to meet a young man, and more especially a boy, with a pale or sallow face, with deformed features, or disproportioned limbs. With us, alas! it is not to be concealed, the case is very much otherwise: if it were not, handsome people would hardly strike us so very much as they do in this country.

This free, loose, and natural dress, is worn till they are eighteen, or even till they are twenty. It is then, indeed, discontinued by the higher rank, but with the common people it always remains the same. They then begin to have their hair dressed, and curled with irons, to give the head a large bushy appearance, and half their backs are covered with powder. I am obliged to remain still longer under the hands of an English, than I was under a German hair-dresser; and to sweat under his hot irons, with which he curls my hair all over, in order that I may appear among Englishmen, somewhat English. I must here observe that

the English hair-dressers are also barbers, an office, however, which they perform very badly indeed; though I cannot but consider shaving as a far more proper employment for these petit maîtres than it is for surgeons, who, you know, in our country are obliged to shave us. It is incredible how much the English at present Frenchify themselves; the only things yet wanting are bags and swords, with which at least, I have seen no one walking publicly, but I am told they are worn at court.

In the morning it is usual to walk out in a sort of negligée, or morning dress, your hair not dressed, but merely rolled up in rollers, and in a frock and boots. In Westminster, the morning lasts till four or five o'clock, at which time they dine; and supper and going to bed are regulated accordingly. They generally do not breakfast till ten o'clock. The farther you go from the court into the city, the more regular and domestic the people become; and there they generally dine about three o'clock, *i.e.* as soon as the business or 'Change is over.

Trimmed suits are not yet worn, and the most usual dress is in summer, a short white waistcoat, black breeches, white silk stockings, and a frock, generally of very dark blue cloth, which looks like black; and the English seem in general to prefer dark colours. If you wish to be full drest, you wear black. Officers rarely wear their uniforms, but dress like other people, and are to be known to be officers only by a cockade in their hats. . . .

Electricity happens at present to be the puppet-show of the English. Whoever at all understands electricity, is sure of being noticed and successful.—This a certain Mr Katterfelto experiences, who gives himself out for a Prussian, speaks bad English, and understands, besides the usual electrical and philosophical experiments, some legerdemain tricks, with which (at least according to the papers) he sets the whole world in wonder. . . . Every sensible person

considers Katterfelto as a puppy, an ignoramus, a braggadocio, and an imposter; notwithstanding which he has a number of followers. He has demonstrated to the people, that the influenza is occasioned by a small kind of insect, which poisons the air; and a nostrum, which he pretends to have found out, to prevent or destroy it, is eagerly bought of him.

28. ELECTION OF A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

SOURCE: As No. 27.

The cities of London and Westminster send, the one four, and the other two members to Parliament, Mr Fox is one of the two members for Westminster; one seat was vacant, and that vacancy was now to be filled. And the same Sir Cecil Wray, whom Fox had before opposed to Lord Hood, was now publicly chosen. They tell me that at these elections, when there is a strong opposition-party, there is often bloody work; but this election was, in the electioneering phrase, a "hollow thing," *i.e.* quite sure; as those who had voted for Admiral Hood now withdrew, without standing a poll; as being convinced beforehand, their chance to succeed was desperate.

The election was held in Covent-garden, a large market place, in the open air. There was a scaffold erected just before the door of a very handsome church, which is also called St Paul's; but which however is not to be compared to the cathedral.

A temporary edifice, formed only of boards and wood nailed together, was erected on the occasion. It was called the hustings, and filled with benches; and at one end of it, where the benches ended, mats were laid; on which those who spoke to the people, stood. In the area before the hustings, immense multitudes of people were assembled; of whom the greatest part seemed to be of the lowest order.

The Polling

The House of Commons in 1793

To this tumultuous crowd, however, the speakers often bowed very low, and always addressed them by the title of gentlemen. Sir Cecil Wray was obliged to step forward and promise these same gentlemen, with hand and heart, that he would faithfully fulfil his duties, as their representative. He also made an apology, because, on account of his long journey, and ill health, he had not been able to wait on them, as became him, at their respective houses. The moment that he began to speak even this rude rabble became all as quiet as the raging sea after a storm; only every now and then rending the air with the parliamentary cry of "Hear him! hear him!" and as soon as he had done speaking, they again vociferated aloud an universal huzza, every one, at the same time, waving his hat.

And now, being formally declared to have been legally chosen, he again bowed most profoundly, and returned thanks for the great honour done him: when a well-dressed man, whose name I could not learn, stepped forward, and in a well indited speech congratulated both the chosen and the choosers. "Upon my word," said a gruff carter, who stood near me, "that man speaks well."

Even little boys clambered up and hung on the rails and on the lamp posts; and as if the speeches had also been addressed to them, they too listened with the utmost attention: and they too testified their approbation of it, by joining lustily in the three cheers, and waving their hats.

All the enthusiasm of my earliest years, kindled by the patriotism of the illustrious heroes of Rome, Coriolanus, Julius Cæsar, and Anthony, were now revived in my mind: and though all I had just seen and heard, be, in fact, but the semblance of liberty, and that too tribunitial liberty, yet at that moment, I thought it charming, and it warmed my heart. Yes, depend on it, my friend, when you here see how, in this happy country, the lowest and meanest member

of society, thus unequivocably testifies the interest which he takes in everything of a public nature; when you see, how even women and children bear a part in the great concerns of their country; in short, how high and low, rich and poor, all concur in declaring their feelings and their convictions, that a carter, a common tar, or a scavenger, is still a man, nay, an Englishman; and as such has his rights and privileges defined and known as exactly and as well as his King, or as his King's minister—take my word for it, you will feel yourself very differently affected from what you are, when staring at our soldiers in their exercises at Berlin.

When Fox, who was among the voters, arrived at the beginning of the election, he too was received with an universal shout of joy. At length, when it was nearly over, the people took it into their heads to hear him speak, and every one called out, Fox! Fox! I know not why, but I seemed to catch some of the spirit of the place and time; and so I also bawled Fox! Fox! and he was obliged to come forward and speak; for no other reason that I could find, but that the people wished to hear him speak. . . .

When the whole was over, the rampant spirit of liberty, and the wild impatience of a genuine English mob, were exhibited in perfection. In a very few minutes the whole scaffolding, benches, and chairs, and every thing else, was completely destroyed; and the mat with which it had been covered torn into ten thousand long strips or pieces, or strings, with which they encircled or enclosed multitudes of people of all ranks. These they hurried along with them, and everything else that came in their way, as trophies of joy; and thus, in the midst of exultation and triumph, they paraded through many of the most populous streets of London. . . .

29. A DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS [1782]

SOURCE: As No. 27.

The first day that I was at the House of Commons, an English gentleman who sat next to me in the gallery, very obligingly pointed out to me the principal members, such as Fox, Burke, Rigby, etc., all of whom I heard speak. The debate happened to be whether, besides being made a peer, any other specific reward should be bestowed by the nation on their gallant admiral Rodney. In the course of the debate, I remember, Mr Fox was very sharply reprimanded by young lord Fielding, for having, when minister, opposed the election of admiral Hood, as a member for Westminster.

Fox was sitting to the right of the speaker, not far from the table on which the gilt sceptre lay. He now took his place so near it that he could reach it with his hand, and thus placed, he gave it many a violent and hearty thump, either to aid, or to shew the energy with which he spoke. If the charge was vehement, his defence was no less so: he justified himself against lord Fielding, by maintaining, that he had not opposed this election in the character of a minister, but as an individual, or private person: and that, as such, he had freely and honestly given his vote for another, namely for Sir Cecil Wray; adding, that the King, when he appointed him secretary of state, had entered into no agreement with him, by which he lost his vote as an individual: to such a requisition he never would have submitted. It is impossible for me to describe, with what fire, and persuasive eloquence he spoke, and how the speaker in the chair incessantly nodded approbation from beneath his solemn wig; and innumerable voices incessantly called out, Hear him! hear him! and when there was the least sign that he intended to leave off speaking, they no less vociferously exclaimed, Go on; and so he continued to speak in this manner for nearly two hours. Mr Rigby in reply, made a

short but humourous speech, in which he mentioned of how little consequence the title of lord and lady was without money to support it, and finished with the Latin proverb, "infelix paupertas,—quia ridiculos miseros facit." After having first very judiciously observed that previous enquiry should be made, whether admiral Rodney had made any rich prizes or captures; because, if that should be the case, he would not stand in need of further reward in money. I have since been almost every day at the parliament house; and prefer the entertainment there meet with, to most other amusements.

Fox is still much beloved by the people, notwithstanding that they are, (and certainly with good reason) displeased at his being the cause of admiral Rodney's recal; though even I have heard him again and again, almost extravagant in his encomiums on this noble admiral. The same celebrated Charles Fox is a short, fat, and gross man, with a swarthy complexion, and dark; and in general is badly dressed. There certainly is something Jewish in his looks. But upon the whole, he is not an ill-made nor an ill-looking man; and there are many strong marks of sagacity and fire in his eyes. I have frequently heard the people here say, that this same Mr Fox is as cunning as a fox. Burke is a well made, tall, upright man, but looks elderly and broken. Rigby is excessively corpulent, and has a jolly rubicund face.

The little less than downright open abuse, and the many really rude things which the members said to each other, struck me much. For example, when one has finished, another rises, and immediately taxes with absurdity all that the right honourable gentleman, (for with this title the members of the House of Commons always honour each other) had just advanced. It would indeed be contrary to the rules of the house, flatly to tell each other that what they have spoken is *false*, or even *foolish*: instead of this,

they turn themselves, as usual, to the Speaker, and so, whilst their address is directed to him, they fancy they violate neither the rules of parliament, nor those of good breeding and decorum, whilst they utter the most cutting personal sarcasms against the member, or the measure they oppose. . . .

Two shorthand writers have sat sometimes not far distant from me, who (though it is rather by stealth) endeavour to take down the words of the speaker; and thus all that is very remarkable in what is said in parliament, may generally be read in print the next day. The shorthand writers, whom I noticed, are supposed to be employed and paid by the editors of the different newspapers. . . . There appears to be much more politeness and more courteous behaviour in the members of the upper house. But he who wishes to observe mankind, and to contemplate the leading traits of the different characters most strongly marked, will do well to attend frequently the lower, rather than the other, house.

30. HIGHWAYMEN

SOURCE: As No. 27.

Richmond, 21st June, 1782.

Yesterday afternoon I had the luxury, for the first time, of being driven in an English stage. These coaches are at least in the eyes of a foreigner, quite elegant, lined in the inside; and with two seats large enough to accommodate six persons; but it must be owned, when the carriage is full, the company are rather crowded.

At the White Hart from whence the coach sets out, there was, at first, only an elderly lady who got in; but as we drove along, it was soon filled, and mostly by ladies, there being only one more gentleman and myself. The conversation of the ladies among themselves, who appeared to be a little acquainted with each other, seemed to me to be but very insipid and tiresome. All I could do was, I drew

out my book of the roads, and marked the way we were going.

Before you well know that you are out of London, you are already in Kensington and Hammersmith; because there are all the way houses on both sides, after you are out of the city; just as you may remember the case is with us when you drive from Berlin to Schoneberg; although in point of prospect, houses, and streets, the difference, no doubt, is prodigious.

It was a fine day, and there were various delightful prospects on both sides, on which the eye would willingly have dwelt longer, had not our coach rolled on past them, so provokingly quick. It appeared somewhat singular to me, when, at a few miles from London, I saw at a distance a beautiful white house; and perceived on the high road, on which we were driving, a direction post, on which were written these words: "that great white house, at a distance, is a boarding-school!"

The man who was with us in the coach pointed out to us the county seats of the lords and great people, by which we passed; and entertained us with all kinds of stories of robberies which had been committed on travellers, hereabouts: so that the ladies at last began to be rather afraid; on which he began to stand up for the superior honour of the English robbers, when compared with the French: the former he said robbed only, the latter both robbed and murdered.

Notwithstanding this, there are in England another species of villains, who also murder, and that oftentimes for the merest trifle, of which they rob the person murdered. These are called Footpads, and are the lowest class of English rogues; amongst whom, in general there reigns something like some regard to character.

The highest order of thieves are the pick-pockets, or cutpurses, whom you find every where; and sometimes

even in the best companies. They are generally well and handsomely dressed, so that you take them to be persons of rank; as indeed may sometimes be the case: persons who by extravagance and excesses have reduced themselves to want, and find themselves obliged at last to have recourse to pilfering and thieving.

Next to them come the highwaymen, who rob on horseback; and often, they say, even with unloaded pistols they terrify travellers, in order to put themselves in possession of their purses. Among these persons, however, there are instances of true greatness of soul, there are numberless instances of their returning a part of their booty, where the party robbed has appeared to be particularly distressed; and they are seldom guilty of murder.

Then comes the third and lowest, and worst of all thieves and rogues, the footpads before mentioned; who are on foot, and often murder in the most inhuman manner, for the sake of only a few shillings, any unfortunate people who happen to fall in their way. Of this several mournful instances may be read almost daily in the English papers. Probably they murder because they cannot like highwaymen, aided by their horses, make a rapid flight; and therefore such pests are frequently pretty easily pursued and taken, if the person robbed gives information of his robbery in time.

But to return to our stage, I must observe, that they have here a curious way of riding, not in, but upon a stage coach. Persons to whom it is not convenient to pay a full price, instead of the inside, sit on the top of the coach, without any seats or even a rail. By what means passengers thus fasten themselves securely on the roof of these vehicles, I know not; but you constantly see numbers seated there, apparently at their ease, and in perfect safety.

This they call riding on the outside; for which they pay only half as much as those pay who are within.

31. A BOAT RACE

SOURCE: Horace Walpole, *Letters* (1735–1797). To Miss Berry.

Aug. 23, 1791.—On Monday was the boat-race. I was in the great room at the Castle, with the Duke of Clarence, Lady Di, Lord Robert Spencer, and the House of Bouverie, to see the boats start from the bridge to Thistleworth, and back to a tent erected on Lord Dysart's meadow, just before Lady Di's windows; whither we went to see them arrive, and where we had breakfast. For the second heat, I sat in my coach on the bridge; and did not stay for the third. The day had been coined on purpose, with my favourite south-east wind. The scene, both up the river and down, was what only Richmond upon earth can exhibit. The crowds on those green velvet meadows and on the shores, the yachts, barges, pleasure and small boats, and the windows and gardens lined with spectators, were so delightful, that when I came home from that vivid show, I thought Strawberry [Strawberry Hill, Walpole's residence] looked as dull and solitary as a hermitage. At night there was a ball at the Castle, and illuminations, with the Duke's cypher, etc., in coloured lamps, as were the houses of his Royal Highness's tradesmen. I went again in the evening to the French ladies on the Green, where there was a bonfire; but, you may believe, not to the ball.

32. SUNDAY SCHOOLS [1791]

SOURCE: Madame D'Arblay, *Diary and Letters*, 1842–1846.

Aug. 31, 1791.—The name of Mrs Trimmer led us to talk of the Sunday-schools and Schools of Industry. They are both in a very flourishing state at Bath, and Lady Spencer has taken one school under her own immediate patronage. . . . On Sunday she sent me a message upstairs to say she would take me to see the Sunday-school if I felt well enough

to desire it. . . . It was a most interesting sight. Such a number of poor innocent children all put in a way of right, most taken immediately from every way of wrong, lifting their little hands, and joining in those prayers and supplications for mercy and grace, which, even if they understood not, must at least impress them with a general idea of religion, a dread of evil, and a love of good. . . .

33. DISCOVERY OF VACCINATION

SOURCE: Baron, *Life of Edward Jenner*, 1838.

(a) *Jenner's Petition to Parliament* [1802].

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of Edward Jenner, Doctor of Physic, SHEWETH,

That your petitioner having discovered that a disease which occasionally exists in a particular form among cattle, known by the name of the cowpox, admits of being inoculated on the human frame with the most perfect ease and safety, and is attended with the singularly beneficial effect of rendering through life the persons so inoculated perfectly secure from the infection of the small-pox.

That your petitioner after a most attentive and laborious investigation of the subject, setting aside considerations of private and personal advantage, and anxious to promote the safety and welfare of his countrymen and of mankind in general, did not wish to conceal the discovery he so made on the mode of conducting this new species of inoculation, but immediately disclosed the whole to the public; and by communication with medical men in all parts of this kingdom, and in foreign countries, sedulously endeavoured to spread the knowledge of his discovery and the benefit of his labours as widely as possible.

That in this latter respect the views and wishes of your petitioner have been completely fulfilled, for to his high gratification he has to say that his inoculation is in practice throughout a great proportion of the civilized world, and has in particular been productive of great advantage to these kingdoms, in consequence of its being introduced, under authority, into the army and navy.

That the said inoculation hath already checked the progress of the small-pox, and from its nature must finally annihilate that dreadful disorder.

That the series of experiments by which this discovery was developed and completed have not only occupied a considerable portion of your petitioner's life, and have not merely been a cause of great expense and anxiety to him, but have so interrupted him in the ordinary exercise of his profession as materially to abridge its pecuniary advantages, without their being counterbalanced by those derived from the new practice.

Your petitioner, therefore, with the full persuasion that he shall meet with that attention and indulgence of which this Honourable House may deem him worthy, humbly prays this Honourable House to take the premises into consideration, and to grant him such remuneration as to their wisdom shall seem meet.

(b) *Brothers of the Five Nations* [1807].

Early in May last, His Excellency Lieutenant-Governor Gore took every possible means to introduce vaccine inoculation among your tribes; but, owing to your people being then out on their hunt, it did not take place. When on public business here about a month after, I spoke to you again, and strongly recommended to your serious consideration the introducing among your people this valuable discovery, the want of which you soon afterwards felt very

severely in the loss of one of your chiefs, Oughquaghga John.

Brothers! I have now the satisfaction to deliver to you a book, sent to you from England by that great man, Dr Jenner, whom God enabled to discover so great a blessing to mankind: it explains fully all the advantages derived from so great a discovery. I, therefore, Brothers, at his request, and in his name, present this book to the Five Nations, as a token of his regard for you and your rising generation, by which many valuable lives may be preserved from that most dreadful pestilence the small-pox.

(Signed) W. Claus, D.S.G.I.A.

Speech of the Five Nations, assembled in Council at Fort George, in Upper Canada, to Dr. Jenner, London, on the 8th of November, 1807.

Brother! Our Father has delivered to us the book you sent to instruct us how to use the discovery which the Great Spirit made to you, whereby the smallpox, that fatal enemy of our tribes, may be driven from the earth. We have deposited your book in the hands of the man of skill whom our great Father employs to attend us when sick or wounded.

We shall not fail to teach our children to speak the name of Jenner; and to thank the Great Spirit for bestowing upon him so much wisdom and so much benevolence.

We send with this a belt and string of Wampum, in token of our acceptance of your precious gift; and we beseech the Great Spirit to take care of you in this world and in the land of spirits.

Signed by two representatives of each of the Five Nations —Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas, Cayougas.

34. WITH WELLINGTON'S ARMY IN THE PENINSULA [1812–14]

SOURCE: Larpent, *Private Journal*, 1853.

Headquarters, Frenada, February 7th, 1813.

There never were known so many Court-martials in this army as at this moment, and as I have the whole direction of them all, I really scarce know where to turn, and my fingers are quite fatigued as well as my brains, with the arrangements and difficulties as to witnesses, etc. I sent out seventeen letters yesterday: and to-day I have one case of thirteen prisoners who have been committing every sort of outrage on their march here. Lord Wellington is now much more easy with me, and seems to trust to me more; and yesterday I was pleased when he said, "If your friends knew what was going on here, they would think you had no sinecure. And how do you suppose I was plagued when I had to do it nearly all myself?"

He seemed to feel relieved, and of course I could not but feel gratified. I can assure you, however, that we have none of us much idle time. Dr M'Gregor has seven hundred medical men to look after. The Quarter-Master-general, all the arrangement of the troops, clothing, etc. The Adjutant-general, daily returns of the whole, constantly checked by an eye that finds out even a wrong casting-up of numbers in the totals. Lord Wellington reads and looks into everything. He hunts every other day almost, and then makes up for it by great diligence and instant decision on the intermediate days. He works until about four o'clock; and then, for an hour or two, parades, with any one whom he wants to talk to, up and down the little square of Frenada (amidst all the chattering Portuguese) in his grey great-coat.

Headquarters, Casseda, June 29th, 1813.

In marching, our men have no chance at all with the French. The latter beat them hollow, and, I believe, principally owing to their being a more intelligent set of beings, seeing consequences more, and feeling them. This makes them sober and orderly, whenever it becomes material, and on a pinch, their exertions and individual activity are astonishing. Our men get sulky and desperate, drink excessively, and become daily more weak and unable to proceed, principally from their own conduct. They eat voraciously when opportunity offers, after having had short fare. This brings on fluxes, etc. In every respect, except courage, they are very inferior soldiers to the French and Germans. When the two divisions, the 4th and light, passed through Taffalla the day before yesterday, the more soldierlike appearance and conduct of the foreigners, though in person naturally inferior, was very mortifying. Lord Wellington feels it much, and is much hurt.

The 23rd and 11th Portuguese regiments, who behaved in the field on the 23rd as well as any British did, or could do, are on the march, though smaller animals, most superior. They were cheerful, orderly, and steady. The English troops were fagged, half tipsy, weak, disorderly, and unsoldierlike; and yet the Portuguese suffer greater real hardships, as they have no tents, and only bivouac, and have a worse commissariat.

. . . . . .

Lord Wellington at dinner on Sunday directed some jokes at Major D., who makes out the returns, because he wanted to make a grand total of wounded, etc., after the late five days' fighting. He laughed, and said, all might go wrong from this innovation, but he was determined he would have no more grand totals until he got another Vittoria without more loss; that the loss was always great enough, in all

conscience, without displaying it in this ostentatious manner, and that he would not have every drummer and every officer, etc., killed or wounded in the five days, all added up in one grand total, but that at least the croakers should have the trouble themselves of adding up all the different losses, and making it out for themselves.

Headquarters, St Jean de Luz, February 2nd, 1814.

My dear M.

Here we remain absolutely tied by the leg by this horrible state of the roads, and weather, and without any regular news from England. Nothing but reports on the side of France which would encourage us to proceed; and, on the seaside, of heavy gales, and lost vessels. I am just now driven in by a furious hailstorm, and yet the weather is mild, and, till this moment, pleasant enough. We have two ships in our little bay, one full of hay, which has been four days nearly within three hundred yards of the shore, and in hourly danger of drifting on the beach; and yet we have not been able, in spite of our distress, to get out a truss; and the other a brig transport, empty, and driven in here against her will by stress of weather. A frigate was also off here all yesterday, apparently labouring much, and fearful of the coast. We certainly have undertaken a bold thing in wintering in such a place, but it was a choice of difficulties.

If we had money we should do well, but that is as scarce as anything else. Plenty of supplies would come in from the right from the French had we cash to give in return. As it is, in consequence of the little ready money we gave at first, a great quantity of cattle, food, etc., has been obtained, but now we are reduced to Treasury bills, and that cannot last, and the loss is very great. Even the muleteers get a past payment now in those bills, and the consequence is that a person may buy them with dollars at

the rate of 7s. 4d., and, I believe, 7s. 6d. a dollar. The army is also six months, and the staff seven months in arrear of their pay.

We have, however, I believe, plenty of bread and biscuit, and meal for a month with the army, and corn at Passages in abundance. The short transport from thence is almost too much for us, and the supply is by no means general to the animals, whilst long forage is quite a rarity. The destruction in the oxen is frightful in the rear. Our great depôt is as far back as Palencia, and even there, in store, the cattle die very fast, and the moment they march they fall away to nothing, and die by fifties. Our Commissary-general almost despairs of getting more up, although he has made depôts of bran and straw, etc., on the road, to try and obviate the total want of food. It is now in contemplation to ship cattle from St Andar, where there is a store; but then we have rather a scarcity of naval transports also. Cattle would come in as fast as we wished from twenty leagues to our right, could we but pay for it. As it is, I am almost inclined to think we shall, as a choice of evils, be obliged, in spite of the roads, etc., to move towards our right in quest of food.

. . . . . .

I heard a few days since an anecdote about the siege of Rodrigo, which shows the man [Wellington]. Scarcely anyone knew what was to be done; the great preparations were all made in Almeyda, and most supposed, and I believe the French, that everything which arrived there, was for the purpose of defence there, not of attack elsewhere. On a sudden the army was in front of Rodrigo. A new advanced work was discovered, which must be taken before any progress could be made in the siege. To save men and time, an instant attack was resolved upon. Scaling-ladders were necessary; the engineers were applied to; they had none with them, for they were quite ignorant of the plans—an

inconvenience which has often arisen in different departments from Lord Wellington's great secrecy, though the general result, assisted by his genius, has been so good. The scaling could not take place without ladders; Lord Wellington was informed of this. "Well," says he, "you have brought up your ammunition and stores, never mind the waggons, cut them all up directly, they will make excellent ladders—there you see, each side piece is already cut." This was done, and by the help of these novel ladders, the work was scaled forthwith.

At Badajoz, he found so little to be had in the regular way for a siege, from want of transport, and so many difficulties in consequence from the regular bred artillery generals, etc., that he became principal engineer himself, making use of Colonel Dickson, the acting man, as his instrument. These sieges procured Dickson his majority and lieutenant-colonelcy in consequence, and though only a Captain in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, he now conducts the whole department here, because he makes no difficulties.

In one instance Lord Wellington is not like Frederick the Great. He is remarkably neat, and most particular in his dress, considering his situation. He is well made, knows it, and is willing to set off to the best what nature has bestowed. In short, like every great man, present or past, almost without exception, he is vain. He cuts the skirts of his own coats shorter, to make them look smarter: and only a short time since I found him discussing the cut of his half-boots, and suggesting alterations to his servant, when I went in upon business. The vanity of great men shows itself in different ways, but I believe always exists in some shape or other.

Head-Quarters, Bordeaux, July 15th, 1814.

Our final departure from hence appears, at last, to be

gradually approaching. The numbers of the English diminish daily; and though we have for this month past been talking of the "next week," I begin to think that another week will really and truly see us off, and the French army again in possession of Bordeaux.

The tradesmen of the town will miss us greatly. They have made a famous time of it these last three months, as the army has in that time received six months pay, and most of it has found its way into the pockets of the keepers of the restaurateurs, the hotels, etc. Bordeaux has had its full share of the spoils of the *milords*. Nor have the inhabitants suffered anything by the army, except the little inconvenience of giving up a room or two in general as quarters for the officers, who partly made up even for this by giving their hosts tickets for the play, taking boxes for the ladies, etc., and making them presents every now and then. The only persons who have suffered by us at all in the neighbourhood, are those who have small gardens, near the camp. They certainly have had their vegetables and and fruit gathered gratis, and have generally not even had their share. This evil is, however, exaggerated, and much of it which really exists, has been done by the French peasantry and country servants, who, if a soldier takes six cabbages, immediately take a dozen more themselves, sell them in the camp, and swear to the owners that the soldiers are the culprits.

Those who have vineyards as well as gardens, have also their full revenge in the price of their wines, which were immediately doubled, by the arrival of the troops, and the latter, in fact, pay dearly for their vegetables, though they get a good part for nothing. It is fortunate for the inhabitants that we shall be off before the grapes begin to ripen, and for our own soldiers likewise. Surrounded by vineyards, the temptations would be irresistible, and the means of offence almost boundless; so that the loss to the cultivators

of their principal harvest, and the injury to the soldiers, would be very considerable.

35. A VIEW OF THE THREATENED FRENCH INVASION [1815]

SOURCE: Sydney Smith, *Letters of Peter Plymley*, No. 5, 1807.

As for the spirit of the peasantry, in making a gallant defence behind hedgerows, and through plate-racks and hen-coops, highly as I think of their bravery, I do not know any nation in Europe so likely to be struck with panic as the English; and this from their total unacquaintance with the science of war. Old wheat and beans blazing for twenty miles round; cart mares shot; sows of Lord Somerville's breed running wild over the country; the minister of the parish wounded sorely in his hinder parts; Mrs Plymley in fits; all these scenes of war an Austrian or a Russian has seen three or four times over; but it is now three centuries since an English pig has fallen in a fair battle upon English ground, or a farm-house been rifled. . . .

The old edition of *Plutarch's Lives*, which lies in the corner of your parlour window, has contributed to work you up to the most romantic expectations of our Roman behaviour. You are persuaded that Lord Amherst will defend Kew Bridge like Cocles; that some maid of honour will break away from her captivity, and swim over the Thames; that the Duke of York will burn his capitulating hand; and little Mr Sturges Bourne give forty years' purchase for Moulsham Hall, while the French are encamped upon it. I hope we shall witness all this, if the French do come; but in the mean time I am so enchanted with the ordinary English behaviour of these invaluable persons, that I earnestly pray no opportunity may be given them for Roman valour, and for those very un-Roman pensions which they would all, of course, take especial care to claim in consequence.

36. RURAL LIFE IN ENGLAND

SOURCE: Washington Irving, *Sketch Book.*

> Oh! friendly to the best pursuits of man,
> Friendly to thought, to virtue, and to peace,
> Domestic life in rural pleasures past!—COWPER.

The stranger who would form a correct opinion of the English character, must not confine his observations to the metropolis. He must go forth into the country; he must sojourn in villages and hamlets; he must visit castles, villas, farm houses, cottages; he must wander through parks and gardens; along hedges and green lanes; he must loiter about country churches; attend wakes and fairs, and other rural festivals; and cope with the people in all their conditions, and all their habits and humours.

In some countries, the large cities absorb the wealth and fashion of the nation; they are the only fixed abodes of elegant and intelligent society, and the country is inhabited almost entirely by boorish peasantry. In England, on the contrary, the metropolis is a mere gathering place, or general rendezvous, of the polite classes, where they devote a small portion of the year to a hurry of gaiety and dissipation, and having indulged this kind of carnival, return again to the apparently more congenial habits of rural life. The various orders of society are therefore diffused over the whole surface of the kingdom, and the most retired neighbourhoods afford specimens of the different ranks.

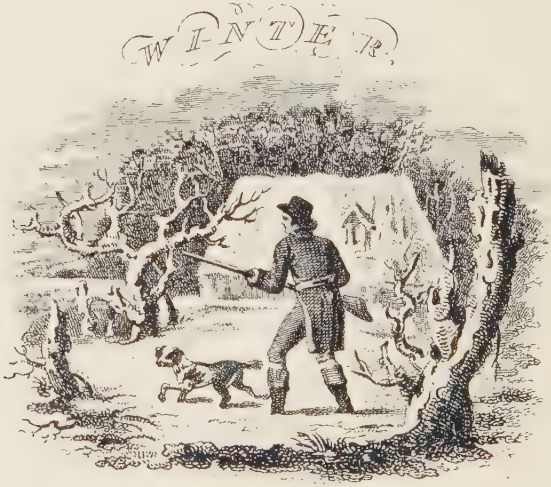
The English, in fact, are strongly gifted with the rural feeling. They possess a quick sensibility to the beauties of nature, and a keen relish for the pleasures and employments of the country. This passion seems inherent in them. Even the inhabitants of cities, born and brought up among brick walls and bustling streets, enter with facility into rural habits, and evince a tact for rural occupation. The merchant has his snug retreat in the vicinity of the

metropolis, where he often displays as much pride and zeal in the cultivation of his flower garden, and the maturing of his fruits, as he does in the conduct of his business, and the success of a commercial enterprise. Even those less fortunate individuals, who are doomed to pass their lives in the midst of din and traffic, contrive to have something that shall remind them of the green aspect of nature. In the most dark and dingy quarters of the city, the drawing room window resembles frequently a bank of flowers; every spot capable of vegetation has its grass plot and flower bed; and every square its mimic park, laid out with picturesque taste, and gleaming with refreshing verdure.

Those who see the Englishman only in town are apt to form an unfavourable opinion of his social character. He is either absorbed in business, or distracted by the thousand engagements that dissipate time, thought, and feeling, in this huge metropolis. He has, therefore, too commonly, a look of hurry and abstraction. Wherever he happens to be, he is on the point of going somewhere else; at the moment he is talking on one subject, his mind is wandering to another; and while paying a friendly visit, he is calculating how he shall economise time so as to pay the other visits allotted to the morning. An immense metropolis, like London, is calculated to make men selfish and uninteresting. In their casual and transient meetings they can but deal briefly in commonplaces. They present but the cold superficies of character—its rich and genial qualities have no time to be warmed into a flow.

It is in the country that the Englishman gives scope to his natural feelings. He breaks loose gladly from the cold formalities and negative civilities of town; throws off his habits of shy reserve, and becomes joyous and free-hearted. He manages to collect round him all the conveniences and elegancies of polite life, and to banish its restraints. His country seat abounds with every requisite, either for studious

A University Volunteer of 1804



English Rural Life

retirement, tasteful gratification, or rural exercise. Books, paintings, music, horses, dogs, and sporting implements of all kinds, are at hand. He puts no constraint either upon his guests or himself, but in the true spirit of hospitality provides the means of enjoyment, and leaves every one to partake according to his inclination.

The taste of the English in the cultivation of land, and in what is called landscape gardening, is unrivalled. They have studied nature intently, and discover an exquisite sense of her beautiful forms and harmonious combinations. Those charms, which in other countries she lavishes in wild solitudes, are here assembled round the haunts of domestic life. They seem to have caught her coy and furtive graces, and spread them, like witchery, about their rural abodes.

Nothing can be more imposing than the magnificence of English park scenery. Vast lawns that extend like sheets of vivid green, with here and there clumps of gigantic trees, heaping up rich piles of foliage. The solemn pomp of groves and woodland glades, with the deer trooping in silent herds across them; the hare, bounding away to the covert; or the pheasant, suddenly bursting upon the wing. The brook, taught to wind in the most natural meanderings, or expand into a glassy lake—the sequestered pool, reflecting the quivering trees, with the yellow leaf sleeping on its bosom, and the trout roaming fearlessly about its limpid waters: while some rustic temple, or sylvan statue, grown green and dank with age, gives an air of classic sanctity to the seclusion.

These are but a few of the features of park scenery; but what most delights me, is the creative talent with which the English decorate the unostentatious abodes of middle life. The rudest habitation, the most unpromising and scanty portion of land, in the hands of an Englishman of taste, becomes a little paradise. With a nicely discriminating eye, he seizes at once upon its capabilities, and pictures in his mind the future landscape. The sterile spot grows into

loveliness under his hand; and yet the operations of art which produce the effect are scarcely to be perceived. The cherishing and training of some trees; the cautious pruning of others; the nice distribution of flowers and plants of tender and graceful foliage; the introduction of a green slope of velvet turf; the partial opening to a peep of blue distance, or silver gleam of water,—all these are managed with a delicate tact, a pervading yet quiet assiduity, like the magic touchings with which a painter finishes up a favourite picture.

The residence of people of fortune and refinement in the country has diffused a degree of taste and elegance in rural economy, that descends to the lowest class. The very labourer, with his thatched cottage and narrow slip of ground, attends to their embellishment. The trim hedge, the grass plot before the door, the little flower bed bordered with snug box, the woodbine trained up against the wall, and hanging its blossoms about the lattice, the pot of flowers in the window, the holly providently planted about the house, to cheat winter of its dreariness, and throw in a semblance of green summer to cheer the fireside:—all these bespeak the influence of taste, flowing down from high sources, and pervading the lowest levels of the public mind. If ever love, as poets sing, delights to visit a cottage, it must be the cottage of an English peasant.

The fondness for rural life among the higher classes of the English, has had a great and salutary effect upon the national character. I do not know a finer race of men than the English gentlemen. Instead of the softness and effeminacy which characterize the men of rank in most countries, they exhibit a union of elegance and strength, a robustness of frame and freshness of complexion, which I am inclined to attribute to their living so much in the open air, and pursuing so eagerly the invigorating recreations of the country. These hardy exercises produce also a

healthful tone of mind and spirits, and a manliness and simplicity of manners, which even the follies and dissipations of the town cannot easily pervert, and can never entirely destroy. In the country, too, the different orders of society seem to approach more freely, to be more disposed to blend and operate favourably upon each other. The distinctions between them do not appear to be so marked and impassable as in the cities. The manner in which property has been distributed into small estates and farms, has established a regular gradation from the nobleman, through the classes of gentry, small landed proprietors, and substantial farmers, down to the labouring peasantry; and while it has thus banded the extremes of society together, has infused into each intermediate rank a spirit of independence. This, it must be confessed, is not so universally the case at present as it was formerly; the larger estates having, in late years of distress, absorbed the smaller, and, in some parts of the country, almost annihilated the sturdy race of small farmers. These, however, I believe, are but casual breaks in the general system I have mentioned.

In rural occupation there is nothing mean and debasing. It leads a man forth among scenes of natural grandeur and beauty; it leaves him to the workings of his own mind, operated upon by the purest and most elevating of external influences. Such a man may be simple and rough, but he cannot be vulgar. The man of refinement, therefore, finds nothing revolting in an intercourse with the lower orders in rural life as he does when he casually mingles with the lower orders of cities. He lays aside his distance and reserve, and is glad to waive the distinctions of rank, and to enter into the honest, heartfelt enjoyments of common life. Indeed, the very amusements of the country bring men more and more together; and the sound of hound and horn blend all feelings into harmony. I believe this is one great reason why the nobility and gentry are more popular among the

inferior orders in England than they are in any other country; and why the latter have endured so many excessive pressures and extremities, without repining more generally at the unequal distribution of fortune and privilege.

To this mingling of cultivated and rustic society may also be attributed the rural feeling that runs through British literature; the frequent use of illustrations from rural life; those incomparable descriptions of nature, that abound in the British poets—that have continued down from *The Flower and the Leaf* of Chaucer, and have brought into our closets all the freshness and fragrance of the dewy landscape. The pastoral writers of other countries appear as if they had paid nature an occasional visit, and become acquainted with her general charms; but the British poets have lived and revelled with her,—they have wooed her in her most secret haunts,—they have watched her minutest caprices. A spray could not tremble in the breeze—a leaf could not rustle to the ground—a diamond drop could not patter in the stream—a fragrance could not exhale from the humble violet, nor a daisy unfold its crimson tints to the morning; but it has been noticed by these impassioned and delicate observers, and wrought up into some beautiful morality.

The effect of this devotion of elegant minds to rural occupations has been wonderful on the face of the country. A great part of the island is level, and would be monotonous, were it not for the charms of culture; but it is studded and gemmed, as it were, with castles and palaces, and embroidered with parks and gardens. It does not abound in grand and sublime prospects, but rather in little home scenes of rural repose and sheltered quiet. Every antique farm house and moss-grown cottage is a picture; and as the roads are continually winding, and the view is shut in by groves and hedges, the eye is delighted by a continual succession of small landscapes of captivating loveliness.

The great charm, however, of English scenery is the moral

feeling that seems to pervade it. It is associated in the mind with ideas of order, of quiet, of sober, well-established principles, of hoary usage and reverend custom. Everything seems to be the growth of ages of regular and peaceful existence. The old church of remote architecture, with its low, massive portal; its gothic tower; its windows rich with tracery and painted glass, in scrupulous preservation; its stately monuments of warriors and worthies of the olden time, ancestors of the present lords of the soil; its tombstones, recording successive generations of sturdy yeomanry, whose progeny still plough the same fields, and kneel at the same altar. The parsonage, a quaint, irregular pile, partly antiquated, but repaired and altered in the tastes of various ages and occupants. The stile and footpath leading from the churchyard, across pleasant fields, and along shady hedge-rows, according to an immemorial right of way. The neighbouring village, with its venerable cottages, its public green, sheltered by trees, under which the forefathers of the present race have sported. The antique family mansion, standing apart in some little rural domain, but looking down with a protecting air on the surrounding scene. All these common features of English landscape, evince a calm and settled security, an hereditary transmission of home-bred virtues and local attachments, that speak deeply and touchingly for the moral character of the nation.

It is a pleasing sight of a Sunday morning, when the bell is sending its sober melody across the quiet fields, to behold the peasantry in their best finery, with ruddy faces and modest cheerfulness, thronging tranquilly along the green lanes to church; but it is still more pleasing to see them in the evenings, gathering about their cottage doors, and appearing to exult in the humble comforts and embellishments which their own hands have spread around them.

It is this sweet home feeling, this settled repose of affection in the domestic scene, that is, after all, the parent of the

steadiest virtues and purest enjoyments; and I cannot close these desultory remarks better, than by quoting the words of a modern English poet, who has depicted it with remarkable felicity:

> Through each gradation, from the castled hall,
> The city dome, the villa crown'd with shade,
> But chief from modest mansions numberless,
> In town or hamlet, shelt'ring middle life,
> Down to the cottag'd vale, and straw-roof'd shed;
> This western isle hath long been famed for scenes
> Where bliss domestic finds a dwelling place:
> Domestic bliss, that, like a harmless dove,
> (Honour and sweet endearment keeping guard,)
> Can centre in a little quiet nest
> All that desire would fly for through the earth;
> That can, the world eluding, be itself
> A world enjoy'd; that wants no witnesses
> But its own sharers, and approving heaven.
> That, like a flower deep hid in rocky cleft,
> Smiles, though 'tis looking only at the sky.[1]

37. THE STAGE COACH

SOURCE: As No. 36.

In the course of a December tour in Yorkshire, I rode for a long distance in one of the public coaches, on the day preceding Christmas. The coach was crowded, both inside and out, with passengers, who, by their talk, seemed principally bound to the mansions of relations or friends, to eat the Christmas dinner. It was loaded also with hampers of game, and baskets and boxes of delicacies; and hares hung dangling their long ears about the coachman's box, presents from distant friends for the impending feast. I had three fine rosy-cheeked boys for my fellow-passengers inside, full of the buxom health and manly spirit which I have observed

[1] From a poem on the Death of the Princess Charlotte, by the Rev. Rann Kennedy, A.M.

in the children of this country. They were returning home for the holidays in high glee, and promising themselves a world of enjoyment. . . .

They were under the particular guardianship of the coachman, to whom, whenever an opportunity presented, they addressed a host of questions, and pronounced him one of the best fellows in the world. Indeed, I could not but notice the more than ordinary air of bustle and importance of the coachman, who wore his hat a little on one side, and had a large bunch of Christmas greens stuck in the buttonhole of his coat. He is always a personage full of mighty care and business, but he is particularly so during this season, having so many commissions to execute in consequence of the great interchange of presents. . . .

He has commonly a broad, full face, curiously mottled with red, as if the blood had been forced by hard feeding into every vessel of the skin; he is swelled into jolly dimensions by frequent potations of malt liquors, and his bulk is still further increased by a multiplicity of coats, in which he is buried like a cauliflower, the upper one reaching to his heels. He wears a broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat; a huge roll of coloured handkerchief about his neck, knowingly knotted and tucked in at the bosom; and has in summer time a large bouquet of flowers in his buttonhole; the present, most probably, of some enamoured country lass. His waistcoat is commonly of some bright colour, striped, and his small-clothes extend far below the knees, to meet a pair of jockey-boots which reach about half-way up his legs.

All this costume is maintained with much precision; he has a pride in having his clothes of excellent materials; and, notwithstanding the seeming grossness of his appearance, there is still discernible that neatness and propriety of person which is almost inherent in an Englishman. He enjoys

great consequence and consideration along the road; has frequent conferences with the village housewives, who look upon him as a man of great trust and dependence; and he seems to have a good understanding with every bright-eyed country lass. The moment he arrives where the horses are to be changed, he throws down the reins with something of an air, and abandons the cattle to the care of the hostler; his duty being merely to drive from one stage to another. When off the box, his hands are thrust into the pockets of his great coat, and he rolls about the inn yard with an air of the most absolute lordliness. Here he is generally surrounded by an admiring throng of hostlers, stable-boys, shoeblacks, and those nameless hangers-on that infest inns and taverns, and run errands, and do all kinds of odd jobs, for the privilege of battening on the drippings of the kitchen and the leakage of the taproom. These all look up to him as to an oracle; treasure up his cant phrases; echo his opinions about horses and other topics of jockey lore; and above all, endeavour to imitate his air and carriage. Every ragamuffin that has a coat to his back thrusts his hands in the pockets, rolls in his gait, talks slang, and is an embryo Coachey.

Perhaps it might be owing to the pleasing serenity that reigned in my own mind, that I fancied I saw cheerfulness in every countenance throughout the journey. A stage coach, however, carries animation always with it, and puts the world in motion as it whirls along. The horn, sounded at the entrance of a village, produces a general bustle. Some hasten forth to meet friends, some with bundles and bandboxes to secure places, and in the hurry of the moment can hardly take leave of the group that accompanies them. In the meantime the coachman has a world of small commissions to execute. Sometimes he delivers a hare or pheasant; sometimes jerks a small parcel or newspaper to the door of a public-house; and sometimes, with knowing leer and words

of sly import, hands to some half-blushing, half-laughing housemaid an odd-shaped billet-doux from some rustic admirer. As the coach rattles through the village, everyone runs to the window, and you have glances on every side of fresh country faces and blooming giggling girls. At the corners are assembled juntos of village idlers and wise men, who take their stations there for the important purpose of seeing company pass; but the sagest knot is generally at the blacksmith's, to whom the passing of the coach is an event fruitful of much speculation. The smith, with the horse's heel in his lap, pauses as the vehicle whirls by; the cyclops round the anvil suspend their ringing hammers, and suffer the iron to grow cool; and the sooty spectre in brown paper cap, labouring at the bellows, leans on the handle for a moment, and permits the asthmatic engine to heave a long-drawn sigh, while he glares through the murky smoke and sulphureous gleams of the smithy.

Perhaps the impending holiday might have given a more than usual animation to the country, for it seemed to me as if everybody was in good looks and good spirits. Game, poultry, and other luxuries of the table, were in brisk circulation in the villages; the grocers' butchers', and fruiterers' shops were thronged with customers. The housewives were stirring briskly about, putting their dwellings in order; and the glossy branches of holly, with their bright red berries, began to appear at the windows. The scene brought to mind an old writer's account of Christmas preparations:—"Now capons and hens, besides turkeys, geese, and ducks, with beef and mutton—must all die—for in twelve days a multitude of people will not be fed with a little. Now plums and spice, sugar and honey, square it among pies and broth. Now or never must music be in tune, for the youth must dance and sing to get them a heat, while the aged sit by the fire. The country maid leaves half her market, and must be sent again, if she forgets a pack of cards on Christmas

eve. Great is the contention of holly and ivy, whether master or dame wears the breeches. Dice and cards benefit the butler; and if the cook do not lack wit, he will sweetly lick his fingers." . . .

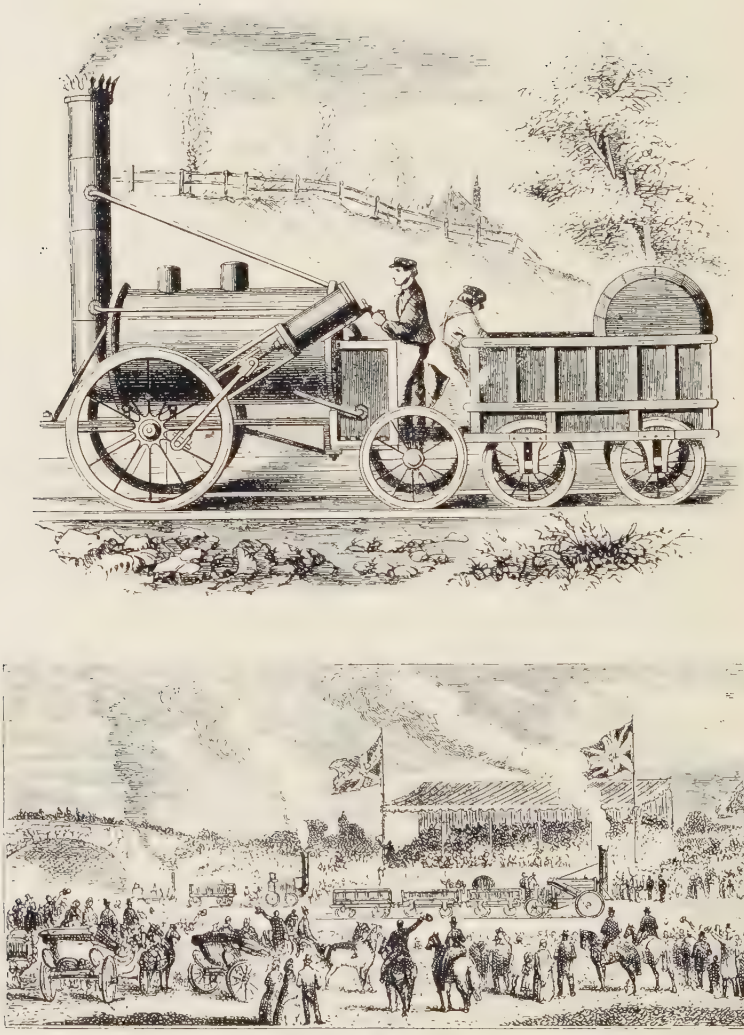
In the evening we reached a village where I had determined to pass the night. As we drove into the great gateway of the inn, I saw on one side the light of a rousing kitchen fire beaming through a window. I entered, and admired, for the hundredth time, that picture of convenience, neatness, and broad, honest enjoyment, the kitchen of an English inn. It was of spacious dimensions, hung round with copper and tin vessels highly polished, and decorated here and there with a Christmas green. Hams, tongues, and flitches of bacon, were suspended from the ceiling; a smoke-jack made its ceaseless clanking beside the fireplace, and a clock ticked in one corner. A well-scoured deal table extended along one side of the kitchen, with a cold round of beef and other hearty viands upon it. . . . Travellers of inferior order were preparing to attack this stout repast, while others sat smoking and gossiping . . . on two high-backed oaken settles beside the fire. Trim housemaids were hurrying backwards and forwards under the directions of a fresh bustling landlady; but still seizing an occasional moment to exchange a flippant word, and have a rallying laugh with the group round the fire.

38. THE CHRISTMAS DINNER

SOURCE: As No. 36.

The dinner was served up in the great hall, where the squire always held his Christmas banquet. A blazing crackling fire of logs had been heaped on to warm the spacious apartment, and the flame went sparkling and wreathing up the wide-mouthed chimney. The great picture of the crusader and his white horse had been profusely

The Bell Inn, Kilburn



The Triumph of *The Rocket*

decorated with greens for the occasion; and holly and ivy had likewise been wreathed round the helmet and weapons on the opposite wall, which I understood were the arms of the same warrior. . . . A sideboard was set out just under this chivalric trophy, on which was a display of plate that might have vied (at least in variety) with Belshazzar's parade of the vessels of the temple; "flagon, cans, cups, beakers, goblets, basins, and ewers"; the gorgeous utensils of good companionship that had gradually accumulated through many generations of jovial housekeepers. Before these stood the two Yule candles, beaming like two stars of the first magnitude; other lights were distributed in branches, and the whole array glittered like a firmament of silver.

We were ushered into this banqueting scene with the sound of minstrelsy, the old harper being seated on a stool beside the fireplace, and twanging his instrument with a vast deal more power than melody. Never did Christmas board display a more goodly and gracious assemblage of countenances; those who were not handsome were, at least, happy; and happiness is a rare improver of your hard-favoured visage. . . .

The parson said grace, which was not a short familiar one, such as is commonly addressed to the Deity in these unceremonious days; but a long, courtly, well-worded one of the ancient school. There was now a pause, as if something was expected; when suddenly the butler entered the hall with some degree of bustle; he was attended by a servant on each side with a large wax-light, and bore a silver dish, on which was an enormous pig's head, decorated with rosemary, with a lemon in its mouth, which was placed with great formality at the head of the table. The moment this pageant made its appearance, the harper struck up a flourish; at the conclusion of which the young Oxonian, on receiving a hint from the squire, gave, with an air of the

most comic gravity, an old carol, the first verse of which was as follows :—

Caput apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino.
The boar's head in hand bring I,
With garlands gay and rosemary.
I pray you all synge merily
Qui estis in convivio. . . .

The table was literally loaded with good cheer, and presented an epitome of country abundance, in this season of overflowing larders. A distinguished post was allotted to "ancient sirloin," as mine host termed it; being, as he added, "the standard of old English hospitality, and a joint of goodly presence, and full of expectation." There were several dishes quaintly decorated, and which had evidently something traditional in their embellishments; but about which, as I did not like to appear over-curious, I asked no questions.

I could not, however, but notice a pie, magnificently decorated with peacock's feathers, in imitation of the tail of that bird, which overshadowed a considerable tract of the table. This, the squire confessed, with some little hesitation, was a pheasant pie, though a peacock pie was certainly the most authentical; but there had been such a mortality among the peacocks this season, that he could not prevail upon himself to have one killed.

When the cloth was removed, the butler brought in a huge silver vessel of rare and curious workmanship, which he placed before the squire. Its appearance was hailed with acclamation; being the Wassail Bowl, so renowned in Christmas festivity. The contents had been prepared by the squire himself; for it was a beverage in the skilful mixture of which he particularly prided himself; alleging that it was too abstruse and complex for the comprehension of an ordinary servant. It was a potation, indeed, that

might well make the heart leap within one ; being composed of the richest and raciest wines, highly spiced and sweetened, with roasted apples bobbing about the surface.

The old gentleman's whole countenance beamed with a serene look of indwelling delight, as he stirred this mighty bowl. Having raised it to his lips, with a hearty wish of a merry Christmas to all present, he sent it brimming round the board, for every one to follow his example, according to the primitive style ; pronouncing it " the ancient fountain of good-feeling, where all hearts met together." . . .

The dinner-time passed away in this flow of innocent hilarity ; and, though the old hall may have resounded in its time with many a scene of broader rout and revel, yet I doubt whether it ever witnessed more honest and genuine enjoyment. How easy it is for one benevolent being to diffuse pleasure around him ; and how truly is a kind heart a fountain of gladness, making everything in its vicinity to freshen into smiles ! the joyous disposition of the worthy squire was perfectly contagious ; he was happy himself, and disposed to make all the world happy ; and the little eccentricities of his humour did but season, in a manner, the sweetness of his philanthropy.

When the ladies had retired, the conversation, as usual, became still more animated ; . . . and though I cannot positively affirm that there was much wit uttered, yet I have certainly heard many contests of rare wit produce much less laughter. Wit, after all, is a mighty tart, pungent, ingredient, and much too acid for such stomachs ; but honest good humour is the oil and wine of a merry meeting, and there is no jovial companionship equal to that where the jokes are rather small, and the laughter abundant.

The old squire told several long stories of early college pranks and adventures, in some of which the parson had been a sharer ; though in looking at the latter, it required, some effort of imagination to figure such a little dark

anatomy of a man into the perpetrator of a madcap gambol. Indeed, the two college chums presented pictures of what men may be made by their different lots in life. The squire had left the university to live lustily on his paternal domains, in the vigorous enjoyment of prosperity and sunshine, and had flourished on to a hearty and florid old age; whilst the poor parson, on the contrary, had dried and withered away, among dusty tomes, in the silence and shadows of his study. . . .

After the dinner-table was removed, the hall was given up to the younger members of the family, who, prompted to all kind of noisy mirth by the Oxonian and Master Simon, made its old walls ring with their merriment, as they played at romping games. I delight in witnessing the gambols of children, and particularly at this happy holiday season, and could not help stealing out of the drawing-room on hearing one of their peals of laughter. I found them at the game of blind-man's-buff. Master Simon, who was the leader of their revels, and seemed on all occasions to fulfil the office of that ancient potentate, the Lord of Misrule,[1] was blinded in the midst of the hall. The little beings were as busy about him as the mock fairies about Falstaff; pinching him, plucking at the skirts of his coat, and tickling him with straws. One fine blue-eyed girl of about thirteen, with her flaxen hair all in beautiful confusion, her frolic face in a glow, her frock half torn off her shoulders, a complete picture of a romp, was the chief tormentor; and, from the slyness with which Master Simon avoided the smaller game, and hemmed this wild little nymph in corners, and obliged her to jump shrieking over chairs, I suspected the rogue of being not a whit more blinded than was convenient.

[1] At Christmasse, there was in the Kinge's house, wheresoever hee was lodged, a lorde of misrule, or mayster of merie disportes, and the like had ye in the house of every nobleman of honour, or good worshippe, were he spirituall or temporall.—Stowe.

39. TAXATION

SOURCE: Sydney Smith, *America.* (In *Edinburgh Review,* 1820; reprinted in his *Essays.*)

We can inform Jonathan [America] what are the inevitable consequences of being too fond of glory;—TAXES upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot—taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste—taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion—taxes on everything on earth, and the waters under the earth—on everything that comes from abroad, or is grown at home—taxes on the raw material—taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man—taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health—on the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal—on the poor man's salt, and the rich man's spice—on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribands of the bride—at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay:—The schoolboy whips his taxed top—the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle, on a taxed road:—and the dying Englishman pouring his medicine, which has paid 7 per cent., into a spoon that has paid 15 per cent.—flings himself back upon his chintz-bed, which has paid 22 per cent.,—makes his will on an eight pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a licence of an hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from 2 to 10 per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he is then gathered to his fathers,—to be taxed no more.

40. THE TRIUMPH OF *THE ROCKET* [1829]

SOURCE: Smiles, *Life of George Stephenson*, 1859.

The time so much longed for by Mr Stephenson had now arrived, when the merits of the passenger locomotive were about to be put to the test. . . .

Great interest was felt at Liverpool, as well as throughout the country, in the approaching competition. Engineers, scientific men, and mechanics, arrived from all quarters to witness the novel display of mechanical ingenuity on which such great results depended. The public generally were no indifferent spectators either. The populations of Liverpool, Manchester, and the adjacent towns felt that the successful issue of the experiment would confer upon them individual benefits and local advantages almost incalculable, whilst populations at a distance waited for the result with almost equal interest.

On the day appointed for the great competition of locomotives at Rainhill, the following engines were entered for the prize:—

1. Messrs Braithwaite and Ericsson's[1] "Novelty."
2. Mr Timothy Hackworth's "Sanspareil."
3. Messrs R. Stephenson and Co.'s "Rocket."
4. Mr Burstall's "Perseverance."

Another engine was started by Mr Brandreth of Liverpool —the "Cycloped" weighing three tons, worked by a horse in a frame, but it could not be admitted to the competition. The above were the only four exhibited, out of a considerable number of engines constructed in different parts of the

[1] The inventor of this engine was a Swede, who afterwards proceeded to the United States, and there achieved considerable distinction as an engineer. His Caloric Engine has so far proved a failure, but his iron cupola vessel, the "Monitor," must be admitted to have been a remarkable success in its way.

country in anticipation of this contest, but which could not be satisfactorily completed by the day of trial.

The ground on which the engines were to be tried was a level piece of railroad, about two miles in length. Each was required to make twenty trips, or equal to a journey of 70 miles, in the course of the day; and the average rate of travelling was to be not under 10 miles an hour. It was determined that, to avoid confusion, each engine should be tried separately, and on different days.

The day fixed for the competition was the 1st of October, but to allow sufficient time to get the locomotives into good working order, the directors extended it to the 6th. On the morning of the 6th, the ground at Rainhill presented a lively appearance, and there was as much excitement as if the St Leger were about to be run. Many thousand spectators looked on, amongst whom were some of the first engineers of the day. A stand was provided for the ladies; and the "beauty and fashion" of the neighbourhood were present, whilst the side of the road was lined with carriages of all descriptions.

It was quite characteristic of Mr Stephenson, that, although his engine did not stand first on the list for trial, it was the first that was ready, and it was accordingly ordered out by the judges for an experimental trip. . . . The distance which it ran on that day was about twelve miles, performed in about fifty-three minutes.

The "Novelty" was next called out. It was a light engine, very compact in appearance, carrying the water and fuel upon the same wheels as the engine. The weight of the whole was only three tons and one hundredweight. A peculiarity of this engine was that the air was driven or *forced* through the fire by means of bellows. The day being now far advanced, and some dispute having arisen as to the method of assigning the proper load for the "Novelty," no particular experiment was made, further than that the

engine traversed the line by way of exhibition, occasionally moving at the rate of twenty-four miles an hour. The "Sanspareil," constructed by Mr Timothy Hackworth was next exhibited; but no particular experiment was made with it on this day. . . .

The contest was postponed until the following day; but before the judges arrived on the ground, the bellows for creating the blast in the "Novelty" gave way, and it was found incapable of going through its performance. A defect was also detected in the boiler of the "Sanspareil"; and Mr Hackworth was allowed some further time to get it repaired. The large number of spectators who had assembled to witness the contest were greatly disappointed at this postponement: but, to lessen it, Mr Stephenson again brought out the "Rocket," and, attaching to it a coach containing thirty persons, he ran them along the line at the rate of from twenty-four to thirty miles an hour, much to their gratification and amazement. Before separating, the judges ordered the engine to be in readiness by eight o'clock on the following morning, to go through its definitive trial according to the prescribed conditions.

On the morning of the 8th October, the "Rocket" was again ready for the contest. The engine was taken to the extremity of the stage, the fire-box was filled with coke, the fire lighted, and the steam raised until it lifted the safety-valve loaded to a pressure of 50 pounds to the square inch. This proceeding occupied fifty-seven minutes. The engine then started on its journey, dragging after it about 13 tons weight in waggons, and made the first ten trips backwards and forwards along the two miles of road, running the thirty-five miles, including stoppages, in an hour and forty-eight minutes. The second ten trips were in like manner performed in two hours and three minutes. The maximum velocity attained during the trial trip was twenty-nine miles an hour, or about three times the speed that one of the

judges of the competition had declared to be the limit of possibility. The average speed at which the whole of the journeys were performed was 15 miles an hour, or five miles beyond the rate specified in the conditions published by the Company. The entire performance excited the greatest astonishment amongst the assembled spectators; the directors felt confident that their enterprise was now on the eve of success; and George Stephenson rejoiced to think that in spite of all false prophets and fickle counsellors, his locomotive system was now safe. When the "Rocket," having performed all the conditions of the contest, arrived at the "grand stand" at the close of its day's successful run, Mr Cropper—one of the directors favourable to the fixed-engine system—lifted up his hands, and exclaimed, "Now has George Stephenson at last delivered himself!"

Neither the "Novelty" nor the "Sanspareil" was ready for trial until the 10th, on the morning of which day an advertisement appeared, stating that the former engine was to be tried on that day, when it would perform more work than any engine upon the ground. The weight of the carriages attached to it was only about seven tons. The engine passed the first post in good style; but in returning, the pipe from the forcing-pump burst and put an end to the trial. The pipe was afterwards repaired, and the engine made several trips by itself, in which it was said to have gone at the rate of from 24 to 28 miles an hour.

The "Sanspareil" was not ready until the 13th; and when its boiler and tender were filled with water, it was found to weigh 4 cwt. beyond the weight specified in the published conditions as the limit of four-wheeled engines; nevertheless the judges allowed it to run on the same footing as the other engines, to enable them to ascertain whether its merits entitled it to favourable consideration. It travelled at the average speed of about fourteen miles an hour, with its load attached; but at the eighth trip the

cold-water pump got wrong, and the engine could proceed no further.

It was determined to award the premium to the successful engine on the following day, the 14th, on which occasion there was an unusual assemblage of spectators. The owners of the "Novelty" pleaded for another trial; and it was conceded. But again it broke down. Then Mr Hackworth requested the opportunity for making another trial of his "Sanspareil." But the judges had now had enough of failures; and they declined, on the ground that not only was the engine above the stipulated weight, but that it was constructed on a plan which they could not recommend for adoption by the directors of the Company. One of the principal practical objections to this locomotive was the enormous quantity of coke consumed or wasted by it—about 692 lbs. per hour when travelling—caused by the sharpness of the steam blast in the chimney, which blew a large proportion of the burning coke into the air.

The "Perseverance" . . . was found unable to move at more than five or six miles an hour; and it was withdrawn at an early period from the contest. The "Rocket" was thus the only engine that had performed, and more than performed, all the stipulated conditions; and it was declared to be fully entitled to the prize of £500 which was awarded to the Messrs Stephenson and Booth accordingly. And further, to show that the engine had been working quite within its powers, Mr Stephenson ordered it to be brought upon the ground and detached from all incumbrances, when, in making two trips, it was found to travel at the astonishing rate of thirty-five miles an hour.

The "Rocket" had thus eclipsed the performances of all locomotive engines that had yet been constructed, and outstripped even the sanguine anticipations of its constructors.

41. THE BIRTH OF RAILWAYS [1825]

SOURCE: *The Creevey Papers*: Selection from Correspondence and Diaries of the late Thomas Creevey. Edited by Maxwell, 1903.

Mr Creevey to Miss Ord.

London, March 16, 1825.

" . . . Sefton and I have come to the conclusion that our Ferguson is *insane*. He quite foamed at the mouth with rage in our Railway Committee in support of this infernal nuisance—the loco-motive Monster, carrying *eighty tons* of goods, and navigated by a tail of smoke and sulphur, coming thro' every man's grounds between Manchester and Liverpool. He was supported by Scotchmen only, except a son of Sir Robert Peel's, and against every landed gentleman of the county—his own particular friends, who were all present, such as Ld. Stanley, Ld. Sefton, Ld. Geo. Cavendish, etc."

25th March.

" . . . I get daily more interested about this rail-road —on its own grounds, to begin with, and the infernal, impudent, lying jobbing by its promoters. . . ."

31st May.

" This railway is [a nuisance] . . . from 12 till 4 daily is really too much. We very nearly did the business to-day; we were 36 to 37 on the Bill itself. I led for the Opposition in a speech of half an hour . . ."

June 1.

" . . . Well—this [confounded] railway is strangled at last. I was sure that yesterday's division had put him on his last legs, and to-day we had a clear majority in the Committee in our favour, and the promoters of the Bill withdrew it, and took their leave of us. . . . We had to

fight this long battle against an almost universal prejudice to start with—interested shareholders and perfidious Whigs, several of whom affected to oppose us upon *conscientious* scruples. Sefton's ecstacies are *beyond*, and he is pleased to say it has been all my doing; so it's all mighty well."

Croxteth, Nov. 14th, 1829.

" . . . To-day we have had a *lark* of a very high order. Lady Wilton sent over yesterday from Knowsley to say that the Loco Motive machine was to be upon the railway at such a place at 12 o'clock for the Knowsley party to ride in if they liked, and inviting this house to be of the party. So of course we were at our post in 3 carriages and some horsemen at the hour appointed. I had the satisfaction, for I can't call it *pleasure*, of taking a trip of five miles in it, which we did in just a quarter of an hour—that is 20 miles an hour. As accuracy upon this subject was my great object, I held my watch in my hand at starting, and all the time; and as it has a second hand, I knew I could not be deceived; and it so turned out there was not the difference of a second between the coachee or conductor and myself. But observe, during these five miles, the machine was occasionally made to put itself out or *go it*; and then we went at the rate of 23 miles per hour, and just with the same ease as to motion or absence of friction as the other reduced pace. But the quickest motion is to me *frightful*; it is really flying, and it is impossible to divest yourself of the notion of instant death to all upon the least accident happening. It gave me a headache which has not left me yet. Sefton is convinced that some [horrible] thing must come of it; but he and I seem more struck with such apprehension than others. . . . The smoke is very considerable indeed, but sparks of fire are abroad in some quantity: one burnt Miss de Ros's cheek, another a hole in Lady Maria's silk pelisse, and a third a hole in some one

else's gown. Altogether I am extremely glad indeed to have seen this miracle, and to have travelled in it. Had I thought worse of it than I do, I should have had the curiosity to try it; but, having done so, I am quite satisfied with my *first* achievement being my *last*."

42. RAILWAYS AND TRAVEL

SOURCE: Sydney Smith, Letter to *The Morning Leader*, 7 June, 1842.

Railway travelling is a delightful improvement of human life. Man is become a bird; he can fly longer and quicker than a solan-goose. The mamma rushes sixty miles in two hours to the aching finger of her conjugating and declining grammar-boy. The early Scotchman scratches himself in the morning mists of the north, and has his porridge in Piccadilly before the setting sun. The Puseyite priest, after a rush of a hundred miles, appears with his little volume of nonsense at the breakfast of his bookseller. Everything is near, everything is immediate—time, distance, and delay are abolished. But, though charming and fascinating as all this is, we must not shut our eyes to the price we shall pay for it. There will be every three or four years some dreadful massacre—whole trains will be hurled down a precipice, and two hundred or three hundred persons will be killed on the spot. There will be every now and then a great combustion of human bodies, as there has been at Paris; then all the newspapers up in arms—a thousand regulations, forgotten as soon as the directors dare—loud screams of the velocity whistle—monopoly locks and bolts as before.

The locking plea of directors is philanthropy; and I admit that to guard men from the commission of moral evil is as philanthropical as to prevent physical suffering. There is, I allow, a strong propensity in mankind to travel on railways without paying; and to lock mankind in till

they have completed their share of the contract is benevolent, because it guards the species from degrading and immoral conduct; but to burn or crush a whole train, merely to prevent a few immoral insides from not paying, is, I hope, a little more than Ripon or Gladstone will permit.

We have been, up to this point, very careless of our railway regulations. The first person of rank who is killed will put everything in order, and produce a code of the most careful rules. I hope it will not be one of the bench of bishops; but should it be so destined, let the burnt bishop —the unwilling Latimer—remember that, however painful gradual consumption by fire may be, his death will produce unspeakable benefits to the public. Even Sodor and Man will be better than nothing. From that moment the bad effects of the monopoly are destroyed; no more fatal deference to the directors; no despotic incarceration, no barbarous inattention to the anatomy and physiology of the human body; no commitment to locomotive prisons with warrant. We shall then find it possible *voyager libre sans mourir*.

43. THE ENGLISH COUNTRYSIDE [1823]

SOURCE: Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, 1830.

Singleton (*Sussex*) 2 *August*, 1823.

I have seen no wretchedness in Sussex; nothing to be at all compared to that which I have seen in other parts; and, as to these villages in the South Downs, they are beautiful to behold. . . . There is an appearance of comfort about the dwellings of the labourers, all along here, that is very pleasant to behold. The gardens are neat, and full of vegetables of the best kinds. I see very few of "*Ireland's lazy root*;" and never, in this country, will the people be base enough to lie down and expire from starvation. . . .

As I came along between Upwaltham and Eastdean, I called to me a young man, who, along with other turnip-hoers, was sitting under the shelter of a hedge at breakfast. He came running to me with his victuals in his hand; and, I was glad to see, that his food consisted of a good lump of household *bread* and not a very small piece of *bacon*. I did not envy him his appetite, for I had, at that moment, a very good one of my own; but, I wanted to know the distance I had to go before I should get to a good public-house. In parting with him, I said, "You do get some *bacon* then?" "Oh, yes! Sir," said he, and with an emphasis and a swag of the head which seemed to say, "We *must* and *will* have *that*." I saw, and with great delight, a pig at almost every labourer's house. The houses are good and warm; and the gardens some of the very best that I have seen in England.

. . . . . .

Petworth (*Sussex*) 1 *August*, 1823.

To-day, near a place called Wesborough Green, I saw a woman bleaching her *home-spun* and *home-woven* linen. I have not seen such a thing before since I left Long Island. There, and indeed, all over the American States, North of Maryland, and especially in the New England States, almost the whole of both linen and woollen, used in the country, and a large part of that used in towns, is made in the farm-houses. . . . *The Lords of the Loom* have taken *from the land*, in England, *this part of its due*; and hence one cause of the poverty, misery, and pauperism, that are becoming so frightful throughout the country. . . . The country people lose part of their natural employment. The women and children, who ought to provide a great part of the raiment, have nothing to do. The fields *must have men and boys*; but, where there are men and boys there will be *women* and *girls*; and, as the Lords of the Loom have now

a set of *real slaves*, by the means of whom they take away a great part of the employment of the country-*women* and *girls*, these must be kept by poor-rates in whatever degree they lose employment through the Lords of the Loom.

Tenterden (*Kent*), 31 *August*, 1823.

. . . Coming through the village of Benenden, I heard a man at my right, talking very loud about *houses! houses! houses!* . . . Scarcely had I proceeded a hundred yards from the place where this fellow was bawling, when I came to the very situation which he ought to have occupied, I mean the *stocks*, which the people of Benenden have, with singular humanity, fitted up with a *bench*, so that the patient, while he is receiving the benefit of the remedy, is not exposed to the danger of catching cold by sitting, as in other places, upon the ground, always damp, and sometimes actually wet. But, I would ask the people of Benenden what is the *use* of this human precaution, and, indeed, what is the use of the stocks themselves, if, while a fellow is ranting and bawling in the manner just described, at the distance of a hundred yards from the stocks, the stocks (as is here actually the case) are almost hidden by *grass* and *nettles*? This, however, is the case all over the country; not nettles and grass indeed smothering the stocks, but, I never see any feet peeping through the holes, any where, . . . though *the law compels the parishes to keep up* all the pairs of stocks that exist in all parts of them; and, in some parishes, they have to keep up several pairs. I am aware, that a good part of the use of the stocks is the *terror* they ought to produce. I am not supposing, that they are of *no use* because not *continually furnished with legs*. But, there is a wide difference between *always* and *never*.

44. AN EXTRACT FROM THE POOR LAW REPORT [1834]

"It is now our painful duty to report, that in the greater part of the districts which we have been able to examine, the fund, which the 43rd of Elizabeth directed to be employed in setting to work children and persons capable of work but using no daily trade, and in the necessary relief of the impotent, is applied to purposes destructive . . . to the welfare of all (classes). The great source of abuse is the out-door relief afforded to the able-bodied on their own account or on that of their families. This is given in kind or in money. The out-door relief of the able-bodied, when given in kind consists rarely of food, rather less infrequently of fuel, and still less unfrequently of clothes; . . . but its most usual form is that of relieving the applicants, either wholly or partially, from the expense of obtaining house-room. . . . Partial relief from the expense of obtaining house-room is given or professed to be given, whenever the occupant of a cottage or an apartment is exempted on the ground of poverty from the payment of rates. . . . In a great number of cases, the labourer if a parishoner is not only exempted from rates, but his rent is paid out of the parish fund.

. . . The practice of granting small sums of money to able-bodied men without requiring labour in return, is adopted in some parishes in each county. In the Stratford division the overseer of Alveston stated that there were young men receiving 2s. 6d. and 3s. a-week, and that though it was barely sufficient for their support, . . . yet they greatly preferred it to earning their own living."

45. THE OLD ENGLISH SQUIRE

(A song published in 1838.)

About fifty years ago, when old George the Third was King,
And the Prince, the star of fashion, brightly shone in pleasure's ring
The English County Squire was a man of great renown,
He'd an old hall in the country, and a modern house in town;
A justice of the peace he was, and also an M.P.,
But was fettered to no party,—his principles were free;
He courted not the Premier, though his son was in the Guards;
With Fox he sometimes voted, but much oft'ner played at cards.

He kept a stud of racers—'twas his joy to see them run—
And his side-board was well covered with the gold cups they had won;
To the town he represented every year he gave a plate,
And to the course in coach and six he always came in state:—
Six goodly nags they were indeed, though fat and rather slow,
Their manes were decked with ribbons, and their flowing tails also;—
His lady sat beside him, tall and upright as a wand,
And the people loudly cheered them on alighting at the Stand.

He kept a pack of fox-hounds too, of pure old English breed;
Most musical and staunch they were; but not much famed for speed;
His hunters were enduring and could go a decent pace,—
To suit his hounds he bred them, not to ride a steeple chase.
He boldly went at hedge and gate, nor stopped at ditch or brook,
And many a Melton-Mowbray swell might shy the leaps he took;

'Twas a pleasant sight to see him through a bullfinch make a gap,
With his pigtail, like a drumstick, cocking out behind his cap.

On the first day of September, as the season still came round,
With his pointers in the stubble he was certain to be found;
Though his gun was like a musket, an old-fashioned flint-and-steel,
Wide-muzzled, and a kicker,—she was heavy in the heel,—
Yet, birds then being plentiful, he brought down many a brace;
And if he found them sitting,—why he showed them little grace:
Few thought of shooting flying about fifty years ago—
'Kill when you can,' was then the word, and 'Surest shooting low.'

On his rent-day—'twas at Michaelmas—within his oak-roofed hall,
Where portraits, arms, and horns of deer bedecked the panelled wall,
'Twas his custom, and a good one, with his tenantry to dine,
And the first toasts that he gave them, in the gold cup filled with wine,—
Were 'The King and Royal Family' and 'God speed the Plough,'
'Amen!' exclaimed the Vicar to his Patron seated near,
While the farmers drank their bumpers off and gave a hearty cheer.

'Tis now thirty years ago,—the sad time I well remember,—
On a dull and cheerless day in the dark month of November,
The good Old English Squire, aged three score years and ten,
Was gathered to his fathers, to the grief of all good men.

In the village church he's buried, scarce a mile from the old hall;
His heir was the chief-mourner,—six old neighbours bore the pall:
His memory is cherished yet; and many people say,
'With the good Old English Squire, good Old Times are gone for aye.'

NOTES ON SOURCES

BOOK ONE

Ælfric (called Grammaticus), a writer who flourished about A.D. 1006. He was a pupil of the Bishop of Winchester, and eventually became an abbot. His *Colloquium*, from which the extracts in No. 24 have been taken, is a dialogue between teacher and pupils, and is interesting for the glimpse it gives of the social conditions of the period.

Ancient Laws and Institutes of England is, as its name indicates, a collection of the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings, together with those of Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, and those ascribed to Henry I. This collection was made by Benjamin Thorpe and published in 1840. Thorpe, who was born in 1782 and died in 1870, was the editor of several Anglo-Saxon texts, including the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which, with a translation, he edited in the Rolls Series. Readers should consult Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the oldest historical work written in any Germanic language, and is the basis of most of our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon history from the year 732 onward" (Gross). "No other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted" (Thorpe). It was probably begun at Winchester as a mere list of kings and bishops, developing later into a compilation from monastic registers, until it expanded into a historical narrative. The latest edition is *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (ed. Plummer and Earle).

Asser, a monk attached to the monastery of St David's and afterwards Bishop of Sherborne. In A.D. 855 King Alfred invited him to his Court on account of the fame of his learning, and Asser assisted the king in his studies. His *Life of Alfred* gives an interesting account of the great king, though the authenticity of the work as a whole has been questioned by competent critics.

Bacon, Roger, philosopher, was born in Somersetshire—tradition says near Ilchester—about 1214. He took his M.A. degree at Oxford and acquired fame by his lectures. He afterwards proceeded to Paris, and by his lectures and writings increased the reputation he had already made. He joined the order of the Franciscan Friars, and when, in 1257, his lectures were interdicted at Oxford and he was ordered to return to Paris, he devoted himself to investigation and experiments in physics, especially

optics, making lenses, constructing mathematical tables and instructing boys in mathematics, sciences, and languages. In 1266 he was brought to the notice of the Pope, and under his patronage began his *Opus Majus*, which foreshadowed some of the most recent inventions of modern times. His independence of thought, as evidenced in his writings, led to his imprisonment in 1278. He died in 1294.

Bede the Venerable, the greatest name in the ancient literature of England, was born about A.D. 673 at Monkwearmouth in Durham. He studied at the Benedictine monastery there, and afterwards proceeded to the monastery at Jarrow. Here he devoted himself to study, and his industry was amazing. Besides Latin and Greek classical as well as theological literature, he studied Hebrew, medicine, astronomy, and prosody. His writings as will be seen from his own account on page 24 covered a wide range of subjects, of which his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* is the most valuable. The greater part of our knowledge of the later period of English History treated of by Bede is derived from him. King Alfred translated this work into Anglo-Saxon. He died in A.D. 735, and was buried at Jarrow, but in the eleventh century his bones were removed to Durham.

Beowulf, the name of an Old English poem of epic character, which relates the heroic deeds of Beowulf, a fabulous prince, especially his struggle with Grendel, a grisly monster of the fens, and later with a dragon. The poem in its present form may be assigned to an early period of the eighth century, but opinions differ as to the date and authorship of the original composition.

Blois, Peter of, was descended from a noble Breton family, and after studying at Paris was invited to England by Henry II. He held various clerical appointments, and eventually became Archdeacon of London. His letters, many of which are extant, are valuable for the information they contain with regard to the politics and customs of the time. He died before 1212.

Brakelond, Jocelin of, a monk of the monastery of St Edmunds, whose picture of monastic life in the twelfth century "is worth a thousand chronicles." So much did Carlyle think of this work and of the portrait of Abbot Samson therein portrayed that he devoted seventeen chapters of Bk. II. of his *Past and Present* to a study of the Abbot and the lesson which could be learned from him. Very little is known of Jocelin except what is to be discovered from his *Chronicle*. He became a monk in 1173, and in 1215 he was the almoner of the Abbey.

Cæsar, Gaius Julius (100-44 B.C.), the great Roman general who conquered Britain. It was during his conquest of Gaul that his attention was drawn to Britain, and from his *de Bello Gallico* a great deal of valuable information has come down to us with regard to the condition of this country at the

time of his arrival. Cæsar ultimately achieved the highest honours that Rome had to offer, but was eventually assassinated.

Cirencester, Richard of, a monk of St Peter's in Westminster, who died in the year 1400.

Devizes, Richard of, the author of a chronicle of the earliest years of the reign of Richard I. The style is vivacious, and "it supplies details nowhere else to be found regarding the condition of England during the first years of Richard's reign" (Gross).

Diodorus Siculus (44 B.C.), born in Sicily, travelled in Asia and Europe, and lived in Rome. For thirty years he was collecting his materials for the history of the world in forty books, from the Creation to Cæsar's Gallic wars. Fragments only of this immense mass of material remain.

Eccleston, Thomas of, an English friar who chronicled the settlement of the Franciscan Friars in England. Very little is known of him except what is gleaned from his interesting *Chronicle*, which was probably written about 1258. "He gives us what no other writer, less simple and zealous, would have cared or perhaps been willing to give—a clear unvarnished picture of the friars in their poverty" (Brewer).

Fitz-Stephen, William (d. 1191), a monk of Canterbury, who witnessed the murder of Becket. He wrote a *Life of Becket* to which was prefixed the remarkable description of London which is given on p. 80.

Hakluyt, Richard, of Dutch descent, was born about 1552 in Herefordshire. After being educated at Westminster and Christchurch, Oxford, he took holy orders and became Lecturer on Cosmography at Oxford. He resided for some years in Paris, and afterwards became Prebendary of Westminster. His great work, commonly known as Hakluyt's *Voyages*, was published in 1589, and enlarged in 1598-1600, and is a wonderful record of the "Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation." He died in 1616 and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Holinshed, Raphael (d. *circa* 1580), the author of *Chronicles* which furnished Shakespeare with much of his knowledge of English history. The work as it has come down to us consists of (1) a description of England followed by the history of the country down to the Conquest; (2) a description of Ireland, followed by the chronicles of that island; (3) a description of Scotland, followed by a history of that country down to 1575; (4) the history of the English kings to 1577. Holinshed had the assistance of some of the most learned men of his time, including William Harrison, whose

description of England in the sixteenth century is of great interest and importance.

Hoveden, Roger de (d. *circa* 1201), was probably a native of Howden in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and was employed in the service of Henry II. in 1174. His *Chronicle* is especially valuable for the period 1192-1201, which was Hoveden's own work. It is enriched with an abundance of documents.

Huntingdon, Henry of (d. *circa* 1154) was brought up by Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln, and eventually became Archdeacon of Huntingdon. He wrote a *History of the English*, which goes down to the reign of Stephen. In this work he incorporated a number of popular songs and stories, taken from earlier works.

Icelandic Sagas—a collection of heroic tales of the early vikings.

Maitland, Frederic William (1850-1906), was educated at Eton and Cambridge and was called to the bar in 1876. He eventually devoted himself to comparative jurisprudence and the history of English law, and held the Downing professorship of the laws of England at Cambridge from 1888 until his death. Among his most famous works may be mentioned *Domesday Book and Beyond*, *Township and Borough*, and the *History of English Law*, which last he wrote with Sir Frederick Pollock, the author of extract No. 35 in this book.

Malmesbury, William of (d. 1143?), was born in Somerset and became librarian of the monastery at Malmesbury. He is one of the greatest of our medieval chroniclers, and his *History of the English Kings*, which extends from 449 to 1128, followed by his *Modern History* (1126-1142), gives us "more information relating to manners and customs than is perhaps to be gathered from all those who proceded him" (Hardy).

Paris, Matthew (d. *circa* 1259), was a Benedictine monk of the abbey of St Albans. He was a man of great accomplishments, a diplomat, mathematician, poet, and theologian, and is especially notable as an historian. His *Chronica Majora*, by its fulness and its accuracy, is the authority for the first half of the thirteenth century, and raises its author to the foremost place amongst medieval historians.

Stephen, Acts of, was in all probability written by one of Stephen's own clerks, and is a spirited vindication of Stephen. It is especially valuable for its graphic description of the incidents of the Civil War and its vivid picture of the anarchy and suffering then prevailing.

Stow, John (1525-1605), a London tailor, who forsook tailoring for antiquarian research and historical study. He wrote a *Summary of the Chronicles of England*, *Annals of England*, and *A Survey of London*, and assisted Holinshed with his great historical work. He died in great poverty after James I. had given him a patent authorising him to beg.

Strabo, born in Pontus probably in 64 B.C. and of Greek descent. He seems to have spent his time in travel and study, and died sometime after A.D. 21. His *History* has come down to us only in fragments, but his *Geography* in seventeen books is practically complete and is especially valuable in those sections where he draws upon his own power of observation to describe the places he visited.

Tacitus, Gaius Cornelius, a Roman historian born about A.D. 51. He was the son-in-law of Julius Agricola, Roman Governor of Britain during the years A.D. 78-84. His chief works are a biography of *Agricola*, a monograph on *Germania*, a *History*, and *Annals*. He died about A.D. 130. It should be remembered that Tacitus was aiming particularly at contrasting the simplicity of German civilisation and institutions with the complex society of the Roman Empire.

Warwick, Guy of, the hero of an Early English metrical romance, possibly the work of a thirteenth century Franciscan monk, with improvements by a Norman minstrel.

Wendover, Roger of (d. 1236), was a monk of St Albans, and is credited as the author of *Flores Historiarum*, which deals with the history of the world from the Creation to 1235, and for the last thirty-five years is a valuable authority.

Westminster, Matthew of, is "an entirely imaginary person." The work which is ascribed to him was written by various persons at various times. The earlier portion is based on the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, and the oldest manuscript at one time belonged to Westminster Abbey; in this way the two names were combined and the fictitious Matthew of Westminster was spoken of as the author. (Gross.)

BOOK TWO

Account Rolls were the annual accounts of the estates of a lord of the manor, made up and presented every Michaelmas on the model of the returns of the sheriffs of the revenues of the Crown, which were sent into the Exchequer. These Account Rolls are preserved in the Public Record Office, and are of considerable importance from the light that they throw upon the social and economical conditions of the times. A selection of these rolls is reprinted in Hone's *The Manor and Manorial Records* (Methuen 1906).

Black Book of the Admiralty is a collection of laws, in Latin and French, relating to the Navy. The original MS. is preserved in the archives of the Admiralty. The book is included in *Monumenta Juridica* with a translation in the Rolls Series.

Chaucer, Geoffrey, was born about 1340. His name is so well known in literature that further notice of his life is not necessary here. His most famous work, *The Canterbury Tales*, from which selections done into prose are included in this volume, depicts the social conditions of his age in a manner unrivalled in medieval literature. He died about 1400 and was buried in Westminster Abbey in that part which has ever since then been known as "The Poets' Corner."

La Court de Baron, a treatise of apparently thirteenth century date which describes the proceedings of a Manorial Court. The MS. is written in Old French, and has been published and translated by the Selden Society, which was founded in 1887 "to encourage the study and advance the knowledge of the history of English law."

Court Rolls, a record of the proceedings of the courts of lords of manors; a large proportion have survived from those in monastic hands. The earliest extant date from the reign of Henry III. A collection of these rolls which afford valuable information on social conditions is to be found in the Public Record Office, and the British Museum. Several interesting specimens are printed in Chapter III. of Hone's *The Manor and Manorial Records* (Methuen & Co., 1906).

Dugdale, Sir William, one of the most famous of English antiquaries, was born in Warwickshire in 1605. He studied law and history and was appointed Rouge Croix Pursuivant in 1639. During the Great Rebellion

he adhered to the king's cause and whilst at Oxford, the king's headquarters, pursued his antiquarian researches. During the Commonwealth he retired into obscurity, but at the Restoration was promoted Garter King of Arms. He died in 1686. His *Monasticon Anglicanum* is the recognised authority for the history of English monastic foundations from their institution to their dissolution in the sixteenth century. Its publication was begun in 1658 and a new edition in 6 volumes (8 parts) was published in 1817–30.

Froissart, Jean (1337–1410), was born at Valenciennes. Destined for the church, he soon distinguished himself by his literary ability which eventually brought him before the notice of Queen Phillippa, who appointed him clerk of her chapel. He remained at the English Court for several years, and was present at several historic scenes which are described so vividly in his interesting *Chronicles.*

Guildhall Letter Books, a series of volumes published in 1902 and following years by the Corporation of the City of London under the direction of the Library Committee. They contain selections from the archives of the Corporation preserved in the Guildhall, and afford interesting glimpses of the social conditions of the metropolis.

Hakluyt, Richard, of Dutch descent, was born about 1552 in Herefordshire. After being educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford, he took holy orders and became Lecturer on Cosmography at Oxford. He resided for some years in Paris, and afterwards became Archdeacon of Westminster. His great work, commonly known as Hakluyt's *Voyages,* was published in 1589, and enlarged in 1598-1600; it is a wonderful record of the "Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation." He died in 1616 and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

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Icelandic Sagas, a collection of heroic tales of the early vikings.

Knighton, Henry, a monk of Leicester Abbey, who lived in the reign of Richard II. His *Compilatio* from 959 to 1366 is valuable in its later parts on account of the original records it contains; for he appears to have had access to sources of information hitherto inaccessible.

Langland, William (or Langley), was born probably about 1332 in Shropshire, and is presumed to be the author of *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman.* He lived a life of poverty in London, and the poem represents the feelings of the thinking man who recognised the necessity of considerable reforms in church and state.

Liber Albus, a Latin chronicle of the City of London compiled in the year 1419 by John Carpenter, Common Clerk to the city. It is of high value from the light it throws on the condition of London during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Lydgate, John, an imitator of Chaucer, was born about 1370 and became a Benedictine monk at Bury St Edmunds. He studied at Oxford, travelled in France, and became court poet. He received a pension in 1439 but died in poverty about 1451. The poem, *London Lickpenny*, is attributed to him, and is to be found in the collection of *Minor Poems* edited by Halliwell in 1840.

The Paston Letters, a series of letters written by and to the members of the family of Paston, of Norfolk, from 1424 to 1506. The importance of this correspondence can hardly be over-rated, since, besides throwing much light on family and political affairs, they present a complete picture of English family life in the fifteenth century.

Poll Tax Returns are the returns preserved in the Lord Treasurer's Office of the figures taken from contemporary documents drawn up on the completion of the collection of the poll-taxes in 1377–1381. This tax was levied in the former year on all persons over 14 years of age and in the latter year on all persons over 15 years.

Riley's Memorials of the City of London, a selection by H. T. Riley of the famous archives of the City of London, preserved in the Record Room of the Guildhall; a collection unrivalled in its kind by that of any city in the world.

Rymer, Thomas, was born in 1641 at Northallerton, and was the son of a Roundhead gentleman who was hanged in 1664. He studied at Cambridge, and entered Gray's Inn in 1666. He wrote on many subjects, but is chiefly remembered as the compiler of the invaluable collection of historical materials known as the *Fœdera*, extending from the eleventh century to his own time. He died in 1713.

Sanctuarium Dunelmense, the sanctuary register of Durham Cathedral, which has been published by the Surtees Society and is of interest from the light it throws on conditions under which sanctuary was claimed and obtained in medieval times.

Songs and Carols of the Fifteenth Century is a collection printed for the first time from the original manuscript and edited for the Percy Society in 1847 by Thomas Wright, who was responsible for the edition of *Political Poems and Songs* in the Rolls Series and many other historical works of cognate character.

Stow, John (1525–1605), a London tailor, who forsook tailoring for antiquarian research and historical study. He wrote a *Summary of the Chronicles of England*, *Annals of England*, and *A Survey of London*, and assisted Holinshed in his great historical work. He died in great poverty after James I. had given him a patent authorising him to beg.

Stubbs, William (1825–1901), after a brilliant career at Oxford became Regius Professor of Modern History and later Bishop of Oxford. He wrote many important and authoritative works on historical subjects and amongst them edited *Select Charters and other illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward I.* (Clarendon Press, 1870). As its title indicates, this work contains, to use his own words, "an easily handled repertory of the *Origines* of English Constitutional History," containing "every constitutional document of importance during the period it covers."

Bytharne, Jehan, a Gunner in Ordinary to King Henry VIII., wrote a pamphlet on *The Book of War by Sea and Land*, which was published in 1543. It is reproduced in the *Navy Miscellany*, Vol. I., published by the Navy Records Society.

Camden, William, scholar, antiquary and historian, was born in London in 1551. After being educated at Christ's Hospital, St Paul's, and Oxford, he became Headmaster of Westminster School in 1593. His survey of the British Isles, known as *Britannia*, is his most important work. He died in 1623, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Carew, Richard (1555–1620), the author of a *Survey of Cornwall*. He wrote the chapter on " The Excellency of the English Tongue " for Camden's *Remains in Britain*.

Cavendish, George, the biographer of Wolsey, was born in the early part of the sixteenth century, and became usher to Cardinal Wolsey about 1526. He attended his master with great fidelity until the death of the latter; after which he returned to Suffolk, and married a niece of Sir Thomas More. He died in 1561.

Darrell, Will, a courtier in Queen Elizabeth's reign, known from his rashness and impetuosity as " Wild Darrell."

Elyot, Sir Thos., born about 1499, became in 1523 Clerk of the King's Council, and eight years later was appointed Ambassador to the Court of Charles V. In that capacity he visited the Low Countries and Germany, having orders to procure the arrest of Tyndale. He became Member for Cambridge in 1542, and died in 1546. His chief work is a treatise in moral philosophy, entitled *The Boke named the Governour.*

Fuller, Thomas (1608–1661), a Royalist divine and antiquary, who served as a chaplain in the Parliamentary army, and died shortly after the Restoration. His great work, *The Worthies of England*, deals with the counties of England and their illustrious sons. Fuller also wrote *The Holy State and the Profane State, The Church History of Britain*, and a *History of Cambridge University.*

Gild's English, by Toulmin Smith, was published in 1871, and contains the original ordinances of more than one hundred Early English Gilds from the original manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The editor died before completion of the work, which was finished by his daughter.

Gammer Gurton's Needle, the earliest university play in English which has come down to us, was played at Christ's College, Cambridge, and published in 1575. It has been traditionally ascribed to John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells, but upon insufficient evidence.

Hakluyt, Richard, of Dutch descent, was born about 1552 in Herefordshire. After being educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford, he took holy orders and became Lecturer on Cosmography at Oxford. He resided for some years in Paris, and afterwards became Archdeacon of Westminster. His great work, commonly known as Hakluyt's *Voyages*, was published in 1589, and enlarged in 1598–1600; it is a wonderful record of the "Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation." He died in 1616 and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Harrison, William, (1534–1593), born in London, and studied at Oxford and Cambridge. He became Canon of Windsor in 1586, and wrote his famous *Description of England* for Holinshed's great work.

Holinshed, Raphael (d. *circa* 1580), the author of *Chronicles* which furnished Shakespeare with much of his knowledge of English history. The work as it has come down to us consists of (1) a description of England followed by the history of the country down to the Conquest; (2) a description of Ireland, followed by the chronicles of that island; (3) a description of Scotland, followed by a history of that country down to 1571; (4) the history of the English kings to 1577. Holinshed had the assistance of some of the most learned men of his time, including William Harrison, whose description of England in the sixteenth century is of great interest and importance.

Italian Relation is a sketch of England under Henry VII., and is supposed to be the work of the Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador to Henry's Court. It gives a clear and intelligent account of such English customs and institutions as might be expected by the author to interest his countrymen.

Jonson, Ben (1573–1637), dramatist, Shakespeare's friend and contemporary. He was educated at Westminster School under Camden, and, after many adventures, became famous as the author of many plays and masques. He was the friend of Bacon, Selden, Fletcher, Donne and other writers of the period, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Laneham, Robert, a London mercer who became Clerk to the Council, and, in 1575 witnessed the visit of Elizabeth to Kenilworth Castle, the residence of her favourite the Earl of Leicester. His description of the revels at Kenilworth is contained in a letter to a brother mercer, and gives a most interesting account of what he saw, together with amusing side-lights on his own life and upbringing, the manners and customs of the times, and the library of Captain Cox. "Laneham is a most amusing, self-satisfied, rollicking chap," and "the merits of his letter is great enough to justify its reproduction." (Dr Furnivall.)

Latimer, Hugh (? 1490–1555), was educated at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Clare College. He won fame as a preacher, and having been made Bishop of Worcester in 1535 he devoted his great gifts of oratory to further the Reformation. Twice during the reign of Henry VIII. he was sent to the Tower. On the accession of Edward VI. he resumed his preaching and practical works of benevolence. Under Mary he was found guilty of heresy, and burned at the stake in 1555, along with Bishop Ridley.

Melvil, Sir James of Hallhill (1535–1617), went to France as a page to the young Queen Mary (who afterwards became Queen of Scots), and subsequently undertook missions to the courts of England and the Palatinate. His memoirs are full of interest owing to his intimate association with many of the leading characters of his time.

Moryson, Fynes (1566–1617), after becoming Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, travelled widely over Europe and the Levant, and published his observations and experiences in his valuable *Itinerary*.

Nicke, Bishop (or Nix), was Bishop of Norwich from 1501 to 1535, and belonged to the old Catholic party, opposing Henry VIII.'s divorce and the Reformer's doctrines.

Perlin, Stephen, was a French physician who visited England at the end of the reign of Edward VI. His amusing and quaint account of English life, and some of the important events that he witnessed during his visit, are contained in his *Description of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland*, which was published in Paris in 1558.

Smith, Sir Thomas (1513–1577), statesman and scholar. His *De Republica Anglorum* gives an authoritative account of the Tudor constitution.

Stow, John, (1525–1605), a London tailor, who forsook tailoring for antiquarian research and historical study. He wrote a *Summary of the Chronicles of England*, *Annals of England*, and *A Survey of London*, and assisted Holinshed in his great historical work. He died in great poverty after James I. had given him a patent authorising him to beg.

Stubbes, Philip, a Puritan pamphleteer and author of *The Anatomie of Abuses*, which was published in 1583 as a vehement denunciation of the luxury of the times.

Tusser, Thomas, was born of good family about 1523 ; he was educated at Eton and Cambridge and began life under the patronage of Lord Paget. Afterwards he took to farming, but his life was varied and restless ; he was successively a farmer, a choir-man in Norwich Cathedral, a Cambridge College servant, and at his death in 1580 was the owner of a small estate near Cambridge. *A Hundreth good points of husbandrie* (1557) gave in simple verse a series of practical directions for farming. The book was later enlarged to *Five Hundreth pointes of good Husbandry*.

BOOK FOUR

Burnet, Gilbert (1643–1715), was born in Edinburgh, and in 1669 became Professor of Divinity in Glasgow University, a position which he resigned five years later. He came to London, where he became prominent as a preacher and a politician. In 1685 Burnet retired to the Continent and, being outlawed by James II., became the Chaplain of William of Orange; on William's accession he was made Bishop of Salisbury. His most famous works were *The History of the Reformation* and *The History of My Own Times.*

Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, was born in 1609. He went up to Oxford with the intention of taking Holy Orders, but in 1625 he left the University and entered the Middle Temple, where he speedily rose in his profession. In 1640 he became a member of the Short Parliament. During the Civil War his strong Royalist sympathies resulted in his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1643. He went into exile with Prince Charles, who made him Lord High Chancellor in 1658. He was eventually impeached for high treason and exiled. During his exile he finished his great *History of the Rebellion,* which was designed as an elaborate justification of the Royalist party. The work is valuable chiefly for its admirable biographical sketches in which, despite his Royalist sympathies, he pays a loyal tribute to the characters of the great leaders on the Parliamentary side.

Compton, Lady, wife of the second Earl of Northampton and daughter of the Earl of Spenser. She was one of the leaders of fashion and society in James I.'s reign.

Defoe, Daniel (? 1661–1731), the author of *Robinson Crusoe,* was born in London, the son of a butcher. He had a good education at a private school, and in 1685 was in business as a hose-factor. His career was a varied one, but it was in journalism that he became best known, the outspokenness of his political pamphlets frequently bringing him into serious trouble. At the age of fifty-nine he produced the first volume of his immortal *Robinson Crusoe.* This was followed by several other novels and a vivid *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722). Defoe died in 1731.

Dekker, Thos. (1570–1641), an Elizabethan playwright and pamphleteer. He was a prolific writer, but only a few of his plays were printed. He frequently collaborated with Ben Jonson, Middleton, Massinger, and other dramatists. His *Gull's Horn Book* is a curious account of contemporary London life and is supposed to be a sarcastic guide for young bloods to the manners and usages of polite society.

Earle, John (1601–1665), bishop of Salisbury and author of *Microcosmographie. or A Piece of the World discovered; in Essayes and Characters.* His work is similar to the *Characters* of Sir Thos. Overbury, and gives a picturesque idea of the manners of the times.

Evelyn, John, was born of wealthy parentage at Wotton, Surrey, in 1620, and was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and the Middle Temple. During the Civil War he travelled on the Continent, but at the Restoration he was received at Court with great favour and became one of the Commissioners of the Privy Seal, treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, and secretary to the Royal Society. He died in 1706. He wrote on many subjects, but is chiefly remembered for his delightful *Diary*, discovered in an old clothes basket at Wotton in 1817. The extracts given in this volume will, it is hoped, encourage the reader to read the book itself.

Fuller, Thomas (1608–1661), a Royalist divine and antiquary, who served as a chaplain in the Parliamentary army, and died shortly after the Restoration. His great work, *The Worthies of England*, deals with the counties of England and their illustrious sons. Fuller also wrote *The Holy State and the Profane State*, *The Church History of Britain*, and a *History of Cambridge University*.

Fox, George, was the founder of the Society of Friends or Quakers, and was born in 1624. "His life is little else than a record of persecution, insults and imprisonments." He died in 1691.

Harington, Sir John (1561–1612), godson of Queen Elizabeth, to whose Court he repaired after leaving Cambridge. The favour he obtained by his wit was endangered by the freedom of his satires. He was knighted by Essex, under whom he served in Ireland.

Howell, James (? 1594–1666), had a varied career, and in turn was Oxford graduate, steward in a glass manufactory, Member of Parliament, Royalist spy, Historiographer-royal. He wrote many works, of which the best known is the volume of *Familiar Letters*.

Ludlow, Edmund (? 1617–1692), one of the judges of King Charles I., afterwards elected to the State Council of the Commonwealth. He eventually retired to Switzerland, where he wrote his *Memoirs*.

Misson, François Maximilian (1650–1722), French Huguenot, who travelled in Italy and England, and wrote an interesting account of his travels in those two countries.

Moderate Intelligencer, The. One of the earliest of English newspapers. The first number appeared in 1645.

Moryson, Fynes (1566–1617), after becoming Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, travelled widely over Europe and the Levant, and published his observations and experiences in his valuable *Itinerary*.

Overbury, Sir Thos. (1581–1613), studied at Oxford and the Middle Temple, and afterwards travelled on the Continent. Becoming associated with Robert Carr, the favourite of James I., he was through his influence knighted in 1611. He was afterwards involved in the matrimonial intrigue of Lady Essex and eventually was poisoned. His *Characters* is the best known of his works, all of which were published posthumously.

Paule, Sir George (? 1563–1637), Comptroller of Archbishop Whitgift's household, and Member of Parliament. His biography of Whitgift was published in 1612.

Pepys, Samuel, was born at Brampton, Hants, in 1633, the son of a tailor. He came to London, was educated at St Paul's School and Cambridge. In 1658 he became a clerk in the Exchequer, and later (through the influence of the Duke of York, who was attracted by his business-like qualities) Secretary to the Admiralty. During the Plague, the Fire, and the Dutch War he had control of Naval matters. At the Restoration he retired into private life. The famous *Diary* remained in cipher in Magdalene College, Cambridge, until 1825.

Petty, Sir William (1623–1687), was Professor of Anatomy at Oxford and was appointed physician to the army in Ireland. He was an early member of the Royal Society, started lead-mines, iron-works, and sea fisheries in South-West Ireland, invented a copying-machine, and took an interest in education. His *Political Arithmetic* is a valuable economic work.

Stubbes, Philip, a Puritan pamphleteer and author of *The Anatomie of Abuses*, which was published in 1583 as a vehement denunciation of the luxury of the times.

Wallis, Dr John (1616–1703), mathematician, was a founder of the Royal Society. He was trained at Cambridge, but became Professor of Geometry at Oxford and wrote numerous works on such varied subjects as mathematics, grammar, logic, theology and the teaching of the deaf and dumb.

BOOK FIVE

Addison, Joseph (1672–1719), was educated at Charterhouse and Queen's College, Oxford. He first made a name for himself in 1704 by a poem written in honour of the victory of Blenheim, and entitled *The Campaign*. He is best known, however, as one of the greatest of English essayists, contributing to *The Tatler* (edited by Richard Steele) between 1709 and 1711, and producing *The Spectator*, in collaboration with Steele, 1711–12. He was also the author of *Cato*, a tragedy which was acted with great success at Drury Lane.

Arblay—(Frances Burney)—**Madame d'** (1752–1840), was the daughter of Dr Burney, a musician, who was an intimate friend of Dr Johnson. Her greatest achievement was her novel *Evelina, or a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, which was at first published anonymously. The book took the world of London by storm, and, when its authorship was revealed, Fanny became immediately famous. Her *Diaries* are also valuable contemporary records.

Boswell, James, the companion and biographer of Dr Johnson, was born in Edinburgh, 1740. He was educated at Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities. During his second visit to London (1763) he was introduced to Dr Johnson, and an acquaintance began between them which quickly ripened into friendship. The famous *Life of Samuel Johnson* was published in 1791, and has long been recognised as the greatest of English biographies.

Carlyle, Alexander (1722–1805), was a Scottish Presbyterian minister, and received his education in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Leyden. He was the leader of the Scottish "Broad Church" party, and was moderator of the General Assembly in 1770. His circle of friends was a wide one, as may be seen from his *Autobiography*, first printed in 1860.

Cobbett, William (1762–1835) was of lowly origin. A labourer's son, he taught himself, and at the age of twenty secured employment as a solicitor's clerk. Tiring of this he enlisted in 1783, and was quickly promoted to the rank of sergeant-major, and was entrusted with the keeping of the regimental accounts. Discovering dishonest dealings on the part of some of his officers he left the army, intending to lay information against them, but he learned that false witness would be given against him and dropped the charge, fleeing the country. After a few years in France

and America, where he gained fame as a pamphleteer, he returned to England and started the publication of the weekly *Political Register*. In addition to his work on this paper he wrote several books, the most famous of which are *Advice to Young Men* and *Rural Rides*. His outspoken opinions often led him into legal actions, and in 1810 he was imprisoned by the Government, again taking refuge in America in 1817, a few years after his release. He was an eager champion of the labouring classes and a strenuous advocate of Parliamentary reform.

Coxe, William (1747–1828), was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. He was ordained priest, 1771, but most of his life was spent as tutor to the sons of noble families and in editing eighteenth-century memoirs. These memoirs are valuable, inasmuch as he was entrusted with many important private papers, which he edited with laborious care. His *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole* was published in 1798.

Creevey, Thomas (1768–1838), was born in Liverpool. He entered Parliament as member for Thetford and afterwards Appleby, both pocket boroughs. He became a staunch supporter of the Whig party, and was admitted into the inner circle of Whig politics. He was appointed treasurer of the Ordnance, and, later, treasurer of Greenwich Hospital. The *Creevey Papers* contain a vivid picture of the social and political life of the times.

Defoe, Daniel (? 1661–1731), the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, was born in London, the son of a butcher. He had a good education at a private school, and in 1685 was in business as a hose factor. His career was a varied one, but it was in journalism that he became best known, the outspokenness of his political pamphlets frequently bringing him into serious trouble. At the age of fifty-nine he produced the first volume of his immortal *Robinson Crusoe*. This was followed by several other novels and a vivid *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722). His *Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–26) is a journal of considerable importance, as it describes in a clear manner the social and economic conditions of the various counties.

Eden, Sir Frederick Morton (1766–1809), was a graduate of Oxford, but spent most of his life in business and in social and economic investigations. He was a founder of the Globe Insurance Company, and his *State of the Poor* is a classical work in economic literature.

Evelyn, John, was born of wealthy parentage at Wotton, Surrey, in 1620, and was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and the Middle Temple. During the Civil War he travelled on the Continent, but at the Restoration he was received at Court with great favour and became one of the Commissioners of the Privy Seal, treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, and secretary to the Royal Society. He died in 1706. He wrote on many subjects, but is chiefly remembered for his delightful *Diary*, discovered in an old

clothes basket at Wotton in 1817. The extracts given in this volume will, it is hoped, encourage the reader to read the book itself.

Gonsalez, Don Manoel, a Portuguese merchant of Lisbon, who visited England in 1730 and made a tour of the country. The account of his impressions of his travels has been translated and is to be found in Pinkerton's *Voyages*.

Hervey, John (Baron Hervey of Ickworth), younger son of John, first Earl of Bristol, was born in 1696, and educated at Westminster School and Clare Hall, Cambridge. He entered Parliament in 1725, and held the office of Lord Privy Seal, 1740–42. He was very well known in political circles, and his *Memoirs* give a good picture of the Court life of the period. He died in 1743.

Irving, Washington, was born in New York in 1783 and visited Europe in 1804. On his return to New York he was admitted to the Bar, and afterwards joined his brothers in partnership in business. The business became bankrupt, and he returned to Europe, devoting himself to literature, in which he achieved great success. His *Sketch Book* is the most famous of his writings. He died in 1859.

Jenner, Edward, was born at Berkeley in 1749. Educated for the medical profession, he started practice in his own town in 1773. Becoming interested in the disease of smallpox, he spent some years in a most careful study of it, and as a result of close observation and experiments he discovered the valuable antitoxic properties of vaccine, which he made public in 1796. Though violently opposed at the time, and since, Jenner's vaccine treatment of smallpox gradually became more and more practised; now it is generally used throughout the civilised world. He died in 1823.

Lamb, Charles (1775–1834), was educated, with S. T. Coleridge, at Christ's Hospital. He left school in 1789; in 1792 was appointed to a clerkship in the India House, where he was employed for over thirty years. His first published work consisted of four sonnets, which Coleridge included in his *Poems on Various Subjects* in 1796. From that year he began to contribute to various newspapers and periodicals, and wrote several plays and miscellaneous works. The well-known *Tales from Shakespeare*, written in collaboration with his sister Mary, appeared in 1807. His chief claim to the great position he holds in English literature was made by the famous *Essays of Elia*, the first of which he contributed to *The London Magazine* in 1820.

Larpent, F. S., born in 1776, was Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. He was then called to the Bar, and in 1812 became Judge-Advocate-General to the Armies in Spain under Wellington. He died in 1845, and his *Private Journals* were published in 1853.

Lloyd, Robert (1733–64), was educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge; he returned to his old school as an usher, but soon gave up this work and endeavoured to make a living by writing. He published a collection of poems in 1762 but achieved no great success; he was imprisoned for debt and became a bookseller's hack. His comic opera, *The Capricious Lovers*, was performed in 1764.

Macaulay, Lord, born in 1800, entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1817, where he had a brilliant career. He was called to the Bar in 1826, but forsook law for literature, and became a frequent and popular contributor to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* and *The Edinburgh Review*. In 1830 he became a member of Parliament and won renown as an orator. He afterwards became legal adviser to the Supreme Council of India, and on his return to England was made Secretary for War. His best-known works are *Lays of Ancient Rome*, his *Essays*, and his famous *History of England*, which was never completed. He died in 1859 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Macky, John, a Government agent or spy, was a Scotsman of good education, but of his parentage or birth nothing is known. He discovered several important plots, including James II.'s projected expedition to England in 1692, and was inspector of the coast from Dover to Harwich, 1693. He was suspected by the Government and imprisoned, but was released on the accession of George I. His *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.*, were published in 1733. He died at Rotterdam in 1726.

Moritz, Charles (?), "a literary gentleman of Berlin," who, in a tour through England in 1782, gave his description of the country in letters to a friend. The account of these travels, "chiefly on foot," is included in Pinkerton's *Voyages*.

Parkinson, Richard (1748–1815), was a Lincolnshire farmer. He proceeded in 1798 to America as agriculturist to George Washington, who employed him at Mount Vernon. On his return to England he published his *Tour in America*, which described the American system of agriculture and cattle-breeding.

Smiles, Samuel, was born in 1812, took his M.D. at Edinburgh when twenty, and practised as a surgeon in Haddington. He then came to England, editing *The Leeds Times* (1838–42), and afterwards became secretary of the South-Eastern Railway. Whilst at Leeds he met George Stephenson and wrote his Life (1857). His best-known work, *Self-Help* (1859), had an extraordinary success, and has been translated into seventeen languages. His later life was entirely devoted to authorship, and he produced many well-known and popular works. He died in 1904.

Smith, Adam, political economist, was born in 1723 and died in 1790. Educated at Glasgow University and Balliol College, Oxford, he eventually became Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy at Glasgow. His famous book, *The Wealth of Nations*, was published in 1776 and established his reputation as a writer on economic questions.

Smith, Sydney, a brilliant wit, writer, preacher and talker, was born in 1771 and died in 1845. Educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, he took holy orders and eventually became a Canon of St Paul's. He was a prominent Whig and was one of the founders of *The Edinburgh Review.*

Walpole, Horace, was the fourth son of Sir Robert Walpole. He was born in 1717 in London, and educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. He interested himself in literature, and though he entered Parliament and remained a member for some time, the greater part of his life was devoted to dabbling in art and literature. An ardent collector of "objets d'art," he soon became regarded as a great art critic. Moving amongst a wide circle of friends, he cultivated the art of letter-writing, and his published letters, nearly 2700 in number, contain much valuable information on the literature, art, and social intercourse of that period. He died in London, 1797.

Wesley, The Rev. John, was born in Epworth Rectory in 1703, his father being the rector of the town at the time. He was educated at Charterhouse and Christ Church, Oxford. In 1728 he was made a priest in the Church of England. From 1738 to the close of his life he devoted his energies to the revival of religion and the founding of a new religious society called Methodists. During his fifty years of active work he travelled 250,000 miles and preached 40,000 sermons. His *Journal* is full of vivid descriptions of the writer's personal experiences, together with shrewd reflections on the manners and customs of his age. He died in 1791.

Young, Arthur, was born at Whitehall, 1741, but passed most of his early life at Bradfield Hall, near Bury St Edmunds. After an unsuccessful attempt at farming he turned his attention to writing on agricultural subjects. His account of his tours through England, Ireland, and France, undertaken with a view to ascertaining, and eventually describing, the conditions and methods of farming of the period, gives a most graphic description of the agricultural practices of the parts he visited. In 1793 he was appointed secretary to the Board of Agriculture. He died in 1820.

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